

IN THESE TIMES



Anniversary
Celebration

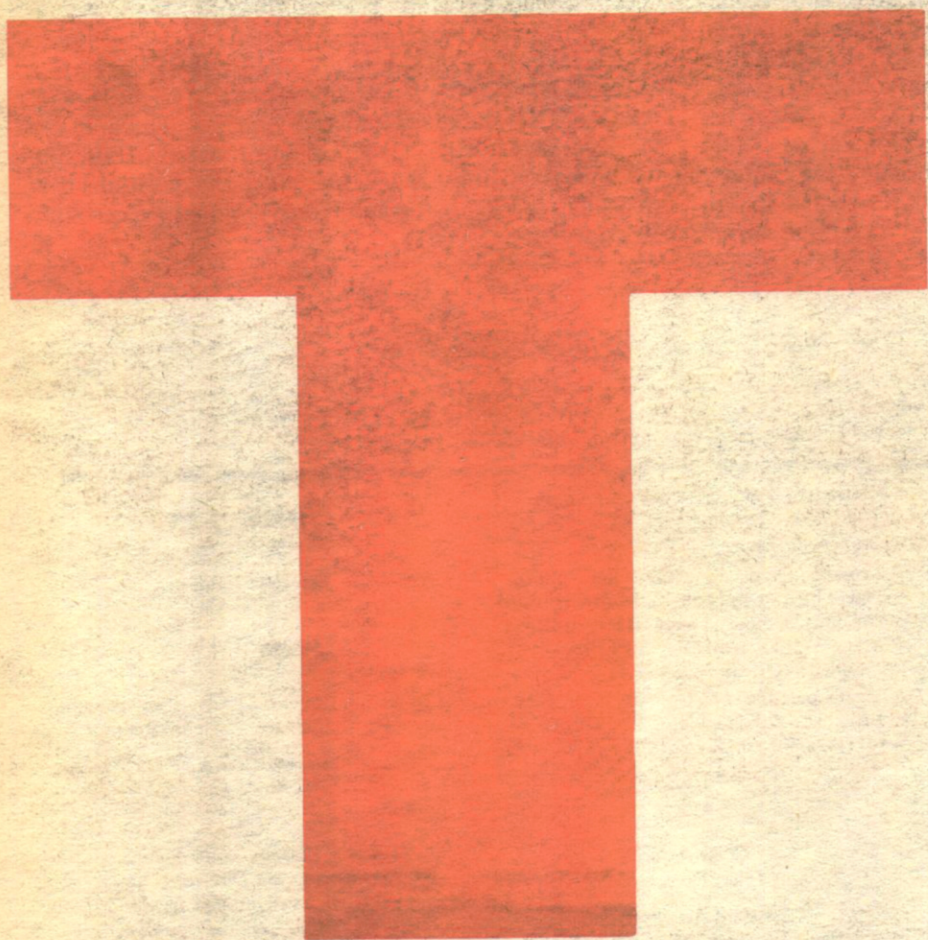
VOL. 6, NO. 1

NOVEMBER 4-10, 1981

\$1.00

D-Day for

A fast-growing
movement in
Western Europe
says "No" to
America's
nuclear plans.



A German peace poster:
"Nuclear Weapons—
No Thanks."

Plus Edward Said on V.S. Naipaul,
Vivian Gornick on women in the sciences
and Fred Halliday on Libya

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THE INSIDE STORY



Steve Cogan

A supportive city press has helped preserve Mayor George Voinovich's popularity.

Cleveland is alive, but not too well

By John Judis

CLEVELAND

Under Mayor Dennis Kucinich Cleveland became a laboratory for developing what Kucinich called "urban populism." The experiment was cut short in November 1979, when Republican George Voinovich easily defeated Kucinich for re-election.

At the time, most Kucinich supporters expected Voinovich, whose campaign was fueled by \$500,000 from Cleveland bankers and businessmen, to usher in a new era of Robber Baron control: the municipal power company ("Mun Light") that Kucinich had fought to save would be sold off to the private utility, Cleveland Electrical Illuminating Co. (CEI), and downtown developers would be handed generous tax abatements.

But Voinovich's first two years have witnessed a subtle experiment in what might be called 1980s-style corporate liberalism. He has clearly represented the people who financed his campaign, but he has done so in a way that has sustained remarkable public support. As this November's election neared, no major Democratic challenger could be found. "Listen, I may end up running against Voinovich next year for governor," former Peace Corps director Richard Celeste said. "Why would I want to lose to him twice in two years?"

Voinovich's popularity has also gone hand-in-hand with what Cleveland's Growth Association refers as the city's "turnaround." "Today the city is in the midst of a dramatic turnaround," the *Plain Dealer* editorialized. "The man who deserves the most credit for that turnaround is George V. Voinovich."

A Ford Republican.

Voinovich is a Gerry Ford or even John Anderson Republican, who received campaign help in 1979 from the moderate Republican Ripon Society. His view of capitalism is closer to that of Felix Rohatyn (whose investment firm, Lazard Freres, he employed to help develop Cleveland's financial plan), than it is to Jack Kemp or Ronald Reagan.

Voinovich inherited a city that had lost 23.6 percent of its citizens since 1970. "A rising share of the population remaining in the city is economically dependent, and its income is falling in relative terms," Norman Krumholz, planning director for the Louis Stokes,

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Ralph Perk and Dennis Kucinich administrations, remarked.

In December 1978 the city had gone into default on \$15 million in debt due to eight local banks. The default was largely a political event—the result of the banks' hostility to Mayor Kucinich and of City Council President George Forbes' refusal to pass the mayor's proposals for meeting the debt obligations. But it had its roots in Cleveland's shrinking tax base and in the short-sighted, wasteful and often corrupt policies of the 1973-to-1977 Perk administration. As a result of the default, Moody's dropped Cleveland's bond rating to "Ca," which is below the "Baa" that cities need to borrow publicly.

Voinovich's first priority was to draw up a financial plan that would refinance the immediate \$15 million obligation—as well as \$100 million more accumulated in deficits during the '70s—and that would enable Cleveland to begin repairing its streets, bridges, water and sewer systems, the cost of which has been put as high as \$1 billion.

Voinovich's plan, worked out by city finance director William Reidy and Rohatyn associate Eugene Keilen, was submitted in May 1980 to a Financial Planning and Supervision Commission, established by the state of Ohio in November 1979 to oversee Cleveland's finances. The plan called for refinancing the city's debts, holding city workers' wage increases to 5 percent annually, raising water, sewer and electrical rates to the point where the city's utilities pay for themselves and cutting 650 city jobs. While the report promised to begin paying off the city's debts by borrowing \$50 million guaranteed by the state when the Financial Commission was imposed, Voinovich and Reidy made clear that they preferred paying off future debts through a 0.5 percent increase in the income tax.

In a November 1980 initiative the income tax increase, which would also affect suburbanites working in Cleveland, was soundly defeated. But last February, after a careful campaign orchestrated by the mayor's office and Cleveland's major newspapers, city voters approved the increase.

The other part of Voinovich's plan was to expand the mayor and city council terms from two to four years and to reduce the city council from 33 to 21 members. These reforms, spearheaded by the League of Women Voters and adopted in a June referendum, were intended to distance city hall politics from the populist passions of Cleveland's Eastern and Southern European ethnics.

No tax abatement.

Voinovich coupled his tight-fisted budgetary policies and "good government" posture with a surprising flexibility on some of the issues that had fueled past opposition to what Clevelanders refer to as "downtown." He pursued Muny Light's anti-trust suit against CEI and made no movement toward selling the city company, he backed off on utility rate hikes and he discouraged new tax abatements for downtown property. "Anytime government offers subsidies to private business, it has to consider the public welfare," finance director Reidy explained. "Sometimes in our eagerness to encourage economic growth, we gave away the farm."

As the budget cuts began to bite in Cleveland, Voinovich went on record against the Reagan administration. In a letter to the president Voinovich questioned whether the administration was employing a "cure" that was "worse than the disease."

Voinovich appointed blacks to prominent posts and appointed the first Hispanic to a Cleveland city cabinet. When Cleveland Working Women's Karen Nussbaum wrote a column in the local papers defending affir-

mative action programs, Voinovich wrote to Nussbaum of his agreement with her stand and a meeting was arranged at the mayor's office with 15 representatives of Working Women, at which Voinovich pledged to institute a city affirmative action program.

These kind of gestures have kept Voinovich's opposition off balance, and have created sharp disagreement about how to explain Voinovich and his success.

Divided critics.

Former Mayor Kucinich is the most outspokenly opposed to Voinovich, whom he regards as no more than a front man for Cleveland's banks and corporations. "He's taking orders, Cleveland Trust has him in their portfolios," Kucinich said. Kucinich and other opponents regard Voinovich's success to date as largely the result of strong media support. "Public opinion is the product of opinion-making techniques. It is made in the media, and there are no alternative media in Cleveland," Kucinich commented.

Voinovich's critics charge, in the words of top Kucinich aide Bob Weissman, that "Voinovich's approach has been to raise prices and taxes, but not to improve services." According to Paul Ryder of the Ohio Public Interest Campaign, Voinovich could have avoided the increase in income tax by borrowing the \$50 million in state-guaranteed funds.

To the extent that Voinovich has proved flexible on tax abatement or MUNY light, his critics attribute it to their own influence. "Except for the issues we highlighted," Weissman said, "he caved in completely."

"If they put up a balloon and we didn't shoot it, it would have kept rising," OPIC's Ryder explained.

Roldo Bartimole, who publishes a local newsletter, *Point of View*, says that he doesn't know what Voinovich will do after this election, but he admits being surprised so far. "He's stayed away from domination by downtown and CEI," Bartimole said.

Norman Krumholz, who now runs Cleveland's Center for Neighborhood Development, also gives Voinovich some high marks. "In a sense of style, his is truly a radical administration by Cleveland standards," Krumholz said. "In the last three administrations, there was a constant hustle for headlines, and a hell of a lot that could have been done quietly didn't get done."

Krumholz thinks Voinovich too often "equates business and community interests," but he thinks Voinovich did about the best he could in getting the city out of default. "You need the bond market, like it or not," Krumholz said.

But Cleveland's liberals and leftwingers can agree when it comes to the administration's claim that it has turned Cleveland around. "I don't think the city's turned around at all," Krumholz said. "I would suspect population, manufacturing jobs and capital have continued to flow out of the city. As far as services go, who the hell knows whether they have improved or not."

To confirm the critics' skepticism, Moody's announced last month that it was only raising the city's rating to Ba, one step below acceptable investment grade. "The basic concerns we have are two: the general state of the economy in the city, which has been declining, and the fact that the city has enormous capital needs which have not been fulfilled," Moody's vice-president Freda Ackerman explained.

Cleveland's continuing decline suggests a certain superficiality to the Voinovich regime. As Tim Hagan, chair of Cleveland's Democratic Party and an arch foe of Kucinich put it, "Is Cleveland more peaceful and civil under Voinovich? Yes. But are the questions that Kucinich raised being addressed? No, they certainly are not."

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IN THESE TIMES

This movement won't go away

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

A POWERFUL MOVEMENT IS growing that could give Europe a new unity and sense of purpose. After months of gestation, it burst into life in October with some of the biggest mass demonstrations in the history of the continent. The immediate issue is the refusal to let Europe be turned into a nuclear battlefield for Soviet-American confrontation. But beyond the heart-felt "No" to an insanely wasteful and dangerous arms race, Europeans are also saying "Yes" to the future of human life on this planet: to creative use of skills and resources for civilized purposes.

The movement's strength was first apparent on Oct. 10 when 300,000 people gathered in Bonn to demand disarmament negotiations to rid Europe, both East and West, of nuclear weapons. It was the largest demonstration ever held in the German Federal Republic. On the weekend of Oct. 24 and 25, similarly record-breaking demonstrations were held in London, Rome and Brussels.

A main catalyst has been the Reagan administration's assumption that Europeans should feel protected by the prospect of a nuclear war limited to themselves.

The movement has grown despite distorted media coverage and vicious slander, especially against the Germans, who apparently cannot make a move without being likened to Nazis, even though this movement is in every way the antithesis of the Nazi movement of 50 years ago.

"Just look at these people, especially these young people!" exhorted Lutheran pastor Heinrich Albertz, a former Berlin mayor, at the rally in Bonn. "When has there ever been such a thing in Germany? They don't want to occupy foreign lands

ening the SPD-Free Democratic Party Coalition and preparing the way for the FDP to form a new government with the right-wing Christian Democrats, the answer was that an even higher percentage of the FDP parliamentary group—one-third, or 16 *Bundestag* members—also took part. The peace movement has won over the youth organizations of both government parties and is growing rapidly.

The warm welcome to Coretta King and Harry Belafonte was proof that the German movement is not anti-American but pro-American—for the three out of four Americans who did not vote for Reagan.

Seventy German soldiers marched in uniform, braving eventual disciplinary measures, to express their opposition to NATO plans to use nuclear weapons on German soil. This pointed up a couple of simple truths smothered by the propa-

but which they have ignored: They are an occupied nation, without full sovereignty. Calling this dawning awareness "nationalism" will not make it go away.

The Pentagon has for years been planning to use tactical nuclear weapons on an eventual European battlefield. During detente, Europeans ignored this eventuality because it seemed too remote to be real. But once European leaders start talking about using these weapons in a real war, the prospect is intolerable.

Germany is most directly threatened, but in the wake of the Bonn demonstration, the rest of Europe is beginning to move. A quarter of a million people demonstrated for nuclear disarmament in London on Oct. 25—the largest demonstration ever held in the British capital. Labour Party leader Michael Foot promised nuclear disarmament if his party gets into power, and Tony Benn

and South."

The East is not silent.

Adversaries of the Western European peace movement think they have the perfect retort when they announced triumphantly that there is no such movement in Eastern Europe. This is not exactly true. East German dissident philosopher Robert Havemann has organized a petition addressed to both Brezhnev and Reagan, and there are other signs of favorable echoes.

Political action is different and vastly more difficult in Eastern Europe, but not as impossible as portrayed in the U.S. In Potsdam, tens of thousands of East Germans gathered to call for East-West disarmament negotiations. Of course, to the pro-arms propagandist, this can only be further proof that disarmament is a communist plot. If com-

The turnout in Bonn on Oct. 10—300,000 marched in the largest demonstration in the history of the republic—helped spark equally big marches in London and Rome two weeks later.



A "new European identity" is emerging in the streets of Bonn, London, Rome and Warsaw.

—at the most, perhaps they might occupy a house wrongly left empty. But neither do they want to live forever in an occupied country."

Such statements have been decried as "nationalism." Yet the prevailing concern was for the state of the world and of Europe. "The peace movement does not at all mean that Western peoples, debilitated by higher living standards, can no longer defend themselves," says Erhard Eppler, leader of the Social Democratic Party's growing peace wing. "It means rather that the old nations of Europe are no longer willing to be pawns on the chessboard of either superpower."

Pro-American, anti-Reagan.

Throughout the Western European peace movement, but especially in Germany, Poland is a constant reference. The Polish Solidarity movement, and the Western European movement against nuclear arms, are the first stirrings of a new Europe, blending its socialist and Christian heritage with a new international consciousness to throw off the dead weight of U.S. Soviet military confrontation.

"The Europeanization of Europe begins not only in Warsaw, it also begins in Bonn," said Eppler. "This also means that Soviet intervention in Poland would strike all of us."

Fifty-five SPD *Bundestag* members defied party leadership to take part in the Bonn demonstration—one-fourth of the Social Democratic parliamentary group. To those who contend that they are weak-

ganda campaign against the peace movement. First, nuclear disarmament is not the same thing as disarmament, period. Many Europeans who are not pacifists quite reasonably feel that they cannot possibly be defended but only destroyed by nuclear weapons exploded on their territory. They favor other types of defense.

Second, objection to NATO deployment of nuclear weapons on European soil is not the same as opposition to NATO. A long-range goal is indeed mutual disarmament, dismantling both NATO and the Warsaw Pact. But in the short range, what Eppler and others are demanding is simply to allow Europeans to have a real say in NATO decisions that are for them a matter of life or death.

Waking up to occupation.

The real threat to NATO comes from the Americans. The U.S. is forcing reluctant Europeans to accept nuclear weapons, under the implicit threat that if they don't, the U.S. will leave them to the mercy of Russian tanks. Many German officers are privately dismayed at Pentagon plans to use tactical weapons far before the Germans would consider them necessary. Helmut Schmidt has been cornered between the American threat of abandonment, and the fact that German leaders have no legal right to tell the U.S. what weapons it may or may not use in Germany, which in the absence of a peace treaty, is still occupied territory.

All this is making Germans aware of something that has been true for years,

said the British people were standing up to the Pentagon just as the Polish people were standing up to the Kremlin. Even British Labourites long hostile to the Common Market are speaking of "European unity" against nuclear madness.

The next day, some 200,000 unexpectedly showed up at a poorly organized, badly publicized demonstration in Brussels against the nuclear arms race. It was the biggest demonstration in post-war Belgium history, and it would have been even bigger if the trains had been able to hold thousands more Belgians who jammed the railroad stations trying to get to the capital.

Internationalism, Italian style.

The same weekend, 300,000 marched past the Soviet and American embassies in Rome to protest the nuclear race. In Italy, the peace movement has brought together a fresh new left upsurge, wiping away the nightmares of the '70s with a new vision of peaceful internationalism.

The Italian Communist Party daily *Unita* described the new movement as "European but not Eurocentric," a "political movement in the broad sense of the term but alien to the ideology of blocks."

Such internationalism has long been latent in Italy, but by definition, internationalism needs encouragement from other nations. The Oct. 10 Bonn demonstration was no doubt the spark that set off a new movement likely to spread like wild fire in Italy, bringing together Communists, Radicals, feminists, ecologists, left socialists and liberal Christians.

This new movement has nothing in common with the pro-Soviet peace movement of the '50s. "What emerges for the first time," wrote one commentator, "is a sort of European national identity" and the new idea that "the only identity possible for this new Europe is inseparable from the idea of disarmament and radically new relations between North

munists don't want war, then a good anti-communist must want it.

In interviews with two major West German newspapers Oct. 26, Roumanian president Nicolae Ceausescu called for "decisive action" to stop the arms race, first by stopping the stationing of U.S. missiles in Europe and withdrawing Soviet missiles already deployed. This is basically the "zero option" officially endorsed by NATO defense ministers five days earlier, over objections from U.S. Defense Secretary Casper Weinberger. Off the record, Weinberger said he did not believe Reagan would accept such a deal.

In numerous interviews, Soviet leaders are indicating a readiness to wind down the arms race for the simple reason that the economic strain is too great. But this may only act as another motive for the Reagan administration to step it up.

"What the United States wants by imposing this mad pace of military growth is to ruin its rivals economically, the Soviets to be sure, but also the Japanese and the Europeans," wrote pastor Martin Niemoeller recently. "Then there will be no obstacles to extending their empire across the whole world." The 90-year-old Protestant pastor, who spent seven years in a Nazi concentration camp, is an early sponsor of the West German peace movement, which aims at replacing Helmut Schmidt and bringing Nobel Peace Prize winner Willy Brandt back to power.

Pastor Niemoeller wrote that he, like the German left in general, is "deeply disappointed" with the French Socialist government. French president Francois Mitterrand coldly turned away Willy Brandt's attempt to explain the German peace movement and has aligned himself totally with Reagan on the Euro-missile issue.

(Next week: What's wrong with the French?)

IN SHORT

Bishops stalemated?

In the national fight over reproductive rights, it's not just the pro-choice movement that's experiencing growing pains (*In These Times*, Oct. 28). As Mary Meehan reported recently in an article copyrighted by the Pacific News Service (PNS), "a serious split over strategy within the anti-abortion movement is causing dismay to its leaders." The dispute, Meehan writes, focuses on legislative tactics. One side backs the Human Life Bill proposed by Rep. Henry Hyde (R-Ill.), which would declare it a congressional finding that human life begins at conception—if passed, the bill would jeopardize the Supreme Court's 1973 decision legalizing abortion. Most proponents of the bill believe that it could be passed in this session of Congress.

Other so-called right-to-lifers support a compromise constitutional amendment sponsored by Sen. Orrin Hatch (R-Utah) that would establish that "a right to an abortion is not secured by this constitution" and give Congress and the states "concurrent power" to "restrict and prohibit abortions," but not require that either do so. Two groups controlled by Catholic bishops—the U.S. Catholic Conference (USCC) and the National Committee for a Human Life Amendment (NCHLA)—have been drawing loud complaints because of their support of the amendment, which would take years to enact and is viewed by its critics as being too weak.

Randy Engel, a long-time anti-abortion activist in Pennsylvania, complained that the USCC is a "walking disaster." An aide to Rep. Robert K. Dornan (R-Calif.) attacked both the direction and the competence of the group, concluding, "Nothing personal, but the only redemption is extinction." And the Rev. Curtis Young, a Protestant minister who heads the anti-abortion Christian Action Council, suggested that supporting the current action plan of the bishops' groups is "like rearranging deck chairs on the Titanic."

Political mileage

Would you buy a used car from this Congress? In just a day, according to an article in the October issue of *Common Cause*, lobbyists from the National Automobile Dealers Association (NADA) succeeded in persuading 90 representatives and 20 senators to veto a proposed Federal Trade Commission regulation that the auto dealers oppose. The FTC reg would require dealers to post stickers on the windows of all the used cars they sell disclosing any mechanical defects they know about. The recent flurry of lobbying took place during NADA's September convention in Washington, at which the organization boasted that its political action committee's \$1,034,875 in contributions during the 1980 congressional elections—which placed it fourth among big PAC contributors—might be the deciding factor when Congress brings the sticker rule to a vote. The article notes that used cars, at an average cost of \$3,794 per, are the "primary form of transportation" for four out of five Americans.

Avoiding Armageddon

Faced with what organizers call the very real possibility of nuclear war, reports *Science* magazine via PNS, as many as 100 colleges are sponsoring teach-ins on the subject this Veterans Day, Nov. 11. Organized by the Union of Concerned Scientists, the programs will try to get people to think about the unthinkable—and to consider remedies, such as a clear American policy on arms control and improved U.S.-USSR relations.

The following week, on Nov. 15 and 16, women will gather in Washington, D.C., to stage a new version of last November's Women's Pentagon Action, involving various workshops and culminating in a "creative demonstration." (Participation in nonviolent acts of civil disobedience is optional.) For information, write to the Women's Pentagon Action Clearinghouse at 3601 Locust Walk, Philadelphia, PA 19104; or call (215)386-4876.

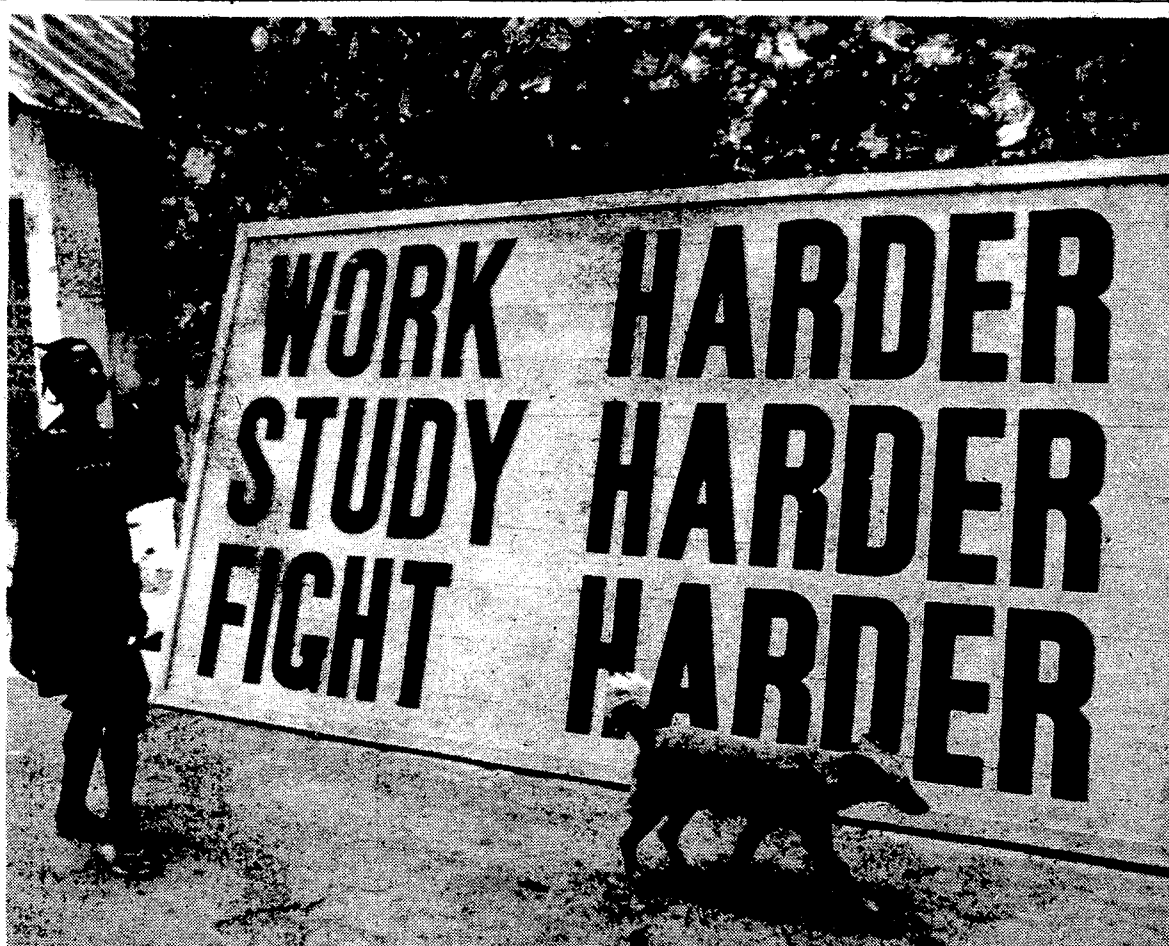
School-lunch dropouts

All may now be calm on the ketchup-rule front, but times are still hard for those affected by the recent 29 percent cut in the federal school lunch program. Of the 94,000 schools that participated in the program last year, Lydia Breen reports, more than 400 have already put the lie to Department of Agriculture predictions by dropping out because of insufficient federal funding. This summer, in large part because of the budget cut, the Tucson, Ariz., Unified School District eliminated free lunches for students in all of its nine high schools. Food Services director Donna Anderson announced that the district would allow the "truly needy" to work for 15 minutes of their 35-minute lunch break in exchange for a meal.

At the same time, the cost of a lunch to those who could pay went up—even doubled, in some cases. The American Food Services Association has estimated that the school lunch program loses 1 percent of its paying customers for each penny added to the cost of a meal. Interviews Breen conducted with Tucson students seemed to bear out that prediction: some were filling up on Coke and doughnuts; others said that, knowing how tight things were at home, they went without lunch when they couldn't earn money from babysitting or yard work.

Further cuts in the federal school lunch program are being predicted.

—Josh Kornbluth



Grenadian prime minister Maurice Bishop blames the U.S. for slowing construction of an international airport in his country, but some of his critics say the whole revolution is behind schedule.

Grenada's head attacks interference from U.S.

BELMOPAN, BELIZE—U.S. pressure against the two-and-a-half-year-old New Jewel Movement government of Grenada is "beginning to hurt," according to Prime Minister Maurice Bishop. Bishop, making a rare public appearance at a press conference in Belize during that country's Independence Day ceremonies, accused the U.S. of training mercenaries in Miami for an invasion of Grenada and of making a "dry run for an invasion" during maneuvers on islands off Puerto Rico in August.

"The U.S., for whatever reasons, is not anxious to have relations with us," Bishop said in one of the few understatement of the press conference. Under his leadership, Grenada has alarmed U.S. policymakers with its enthusiastic support for Cuba and Nicaragua. During the days of the Belize ceremonies, Bishop and Nicaraguan junta member Comandante Sergio Ramirez were invariably seated next to each other, hugging and shaking hands for television cameras.

But Bishop said that he had tried several times this year to get talks started on better relations with the Reagan administration, though he had no illusions that that would happen. "We are the first revolution in the English-speaking Caribbean," Bishop said of the bloodless March 1979 overthrow of occultist Sir Eric Gairy, "and because of that they are making us out to be terrorists and so forth."

If Bishop was upset by the alleged invasion plans, it was the United States' opposition to construction of a modern international airport on the island that drew his longest and most bitter comments. The U.S. suspects that the facility, designed to handle the largest jets, is planned more for military use than for tourism. Bishop says the U.S. has been pressuring international and regional banks to refuse loans for the \$70 million project.

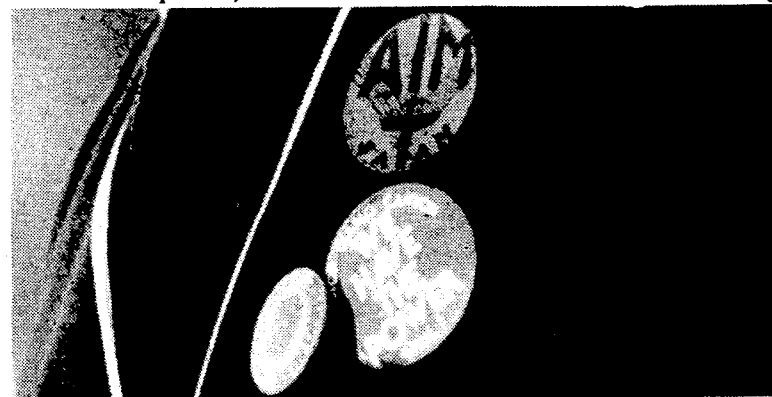
The airport needs just \$5 million more for completion and is on schedule for an early 1983 opening, he said.

In the eyes of its critics, Bishop's New Jewel Movement revolution is considerably behind schedule. The island has been hurt economically by the worldwide recession, quite apart from any effects of U.S. pressures. The price Grenada gets for its three biggest exports—nutmeg, coconut and bananas—has been falling, while the cost of manufactured goods the island must import has been rising, wreaking havoc on Grenada's foreign exchange situation. In 1979 it received \$56 million for its three principal products, but last year they brought in only \$44 million; in the same period, the cost of

"The elections will come when the people are ready for elections," he noted. "You know, it took the Americans 13 years to hold their elections, and yet they want us to hold ours in 13 days. Our revolution is only two-and-a-half years old." In an interview with Radio Belize, Bishop said one of the "three main pillars" upon which his government rests is "to keep our people organized and mobilized, to raise their consciousness and to build their unity."

Bishop has been widely condemned, too, for the recent step of raising consciousness by systematically shutting down all newspapers on the island. The latest victim was the *Grenadian Voice*, whose stockholders included Lloyd Noel, a former acting attorney general in the Bishop government. The *Voice* was the third newspaper closed in recent months.

—Mark Fitzgerald and James Rosenberg



The FBI worked to "neutralize" leaders of the American Indian Movement (AIM) and the Black Panther Party.

imports jumped from \$117 million to \$135 million. Even the weather has been harsh to the revolution: there have been five major storms in those two-and-a-half years, and this September a storm with peak winds that lasted just 10 minutes destroyed 20 percent of the island's banana crop, according to Bishop.

Others in the Caribbean Basin look with growing alarm at the oppressive nature of Bishop's government. Bishop chafed when asked about the elections, which have been postponed indefinitely despite his statement after the overthrow that they would be held in 18 months.

Amnesty finds fault with FBI

ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA—Supporters of jailed American Indian Movement (AIM) leader Richard Marshall have praised the Amnesty International report issued last month exposing FBI misconduct in Marshall's prosecution. The report, they say, "makes public what has been apparent to all of those who have known about Richard Marshall's conviction since its inception."

Lionel Delvingne

Original articles, news clips, memos, press releases, reports, anecdotes—send them all to "In Short," c/o *In These Times*, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622. Please include your address and phone number.

"The only reason Marshall was convicted," attorney Ken Tilsen told *In These Times*, "is because of his relationship to the American Indian Movement."

The Nobel Prize-winning human rights organization announced in a London press conference that the FBI had lied, fabricated evidence, threatened witnesses, withheld evidence and infiltrated defense teams in order to "neutralize" leaders of the AIM and the Black Panther Party. The report specifically referred to the cases of AIM leader Richard Marshall and Southern California Black Panther Party chair Elmer Geronimo Pratt.

The Geronimo Pratt Defense Committee also hailed the study. "As important as freedom is for Richard Marshall, Geronimo Pratt and others, we hope it will also be a benefit in the current national debate concerning what internal powers the FBI and the CIA should have," said committee spokesperson David Flainly.

Both Marshall and Pratt are now serving life sentences for murder. In both cases, the FBI played an extensive role in obtaining a conviction—and though their attorneys have petitioned for new trials on the basis of FBI misconduct, they have been turned down by the state supreme courts.

The detailed 144-page Amnesty report denounced FBI irregularities in the two cases and questioned whether there is a "widespread pattern of abuse linking domestic intelligence activity and FBI misconduct within the criminal justice system" in the United States.

Amnesty International called on President Reagan to form an independent commission to investigate the FBI's role in the Marshall and Pratt cases and recommended that the commission also "examine the effects of the FBI counterintelligence program, COINTELPRO, in criminal prosecutions of persons targeted under it."

Activists close to the Marshall and Pratt cases hope that the report will lend credence to charges they have been leveling for years: that the COINTELPRO programs of the '60s and early '70s did not end in 1971, as officially declared, and that Marshall and Pratt are indeed political prisoners under any definition of the term.

—Karen Northcott

Radio station hit with static

WASHINGTON—An organization of the New Right is challenging the license renewal of a Washington radio station owned by the Pacifica Foundation.

In a petition filed with the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), the American Legal Foundation—a Washington-based group that describes itself as a "pro-free enterprise" public interest law firm—cites a grab bag of charges against WFWW-FM. Among other complaints, the petition claims that the radio station has violated the Fairness Doctrine, slanted the news and broadcast obscenities.

David J. Popeo, chairman of the American Legal Foundation, said his group "would not rule out" challenges to all Pacifica

operating licenses in the future. The conservative weekly *Human Events* notes that Popeo "also says he hopes Pacifica and the Liberal Establishment realize this action is only the beginning of a number of others which are being planned for the future."

The general manager of WFWW, Marita Rivero, said she was "outraged" by the petition. "The station has traditionally tried to present all kinds of viewpoints on all kinds of issues," she added.



NCPAC chair John T. Dolan

Popeo's petition, focusing on such New Right pressure points as El Salvador, charges that the station "has consistently and regularly presented inflammatory attacks against the governments of El Salvador and the United States."

The petition adds that two spokesmen for the Committee for El Salvador Refugees interviewed on WFWW characterized the Duarte government as "a brutal junta" engaging in "indiscriminate, genocidal oppression equal to that of the Nazis."

But Rivera said that the program had, at other times, featured representatives from all the groups in El Salvador, including current president Napoleon Duarte.

The attack against Pacifica—which also operates listener-sponsored stations in New York, Berkeley, Los Angeles and Houston—is part of a stepped-up campaign by ultra-conservative groups against the media. For instance, sharing the same office with the American Legal Foundation is the Washington Legal Foundation—which lists Popeo as its general counsel and acting director. The former national chair of the Washington Legal Foundation is John T. Dolan, currently chair of the National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC). And filing an affidavit in support of the American Legal Foundation's challenge to WFWW is Reed Irvine, chairman of Accuracy in Media (AIM), the controversial "press watchdog" of the far right.

Popeo's groups have been involved in several lawsuits, including efforts to block then-President Carter from implementing the Panama Canal treaties.

After WFWW files a reply to the petition and the American Legal Foundation has a chance to reply as well, the FCC will make its decision, which may not be until the middle of 1982.

—Reported from "In Short" sources

Briefing: The right vs. gay rights

Gay rights advocates have reviled the Family Protection Act since Sen. Paul Laxalt (R-Nev.) first dumped it in the congressional hamper in 1979. Among other things, the bill would fly in the face of the First Amendment by denying federal funding to any person or group that suggests homosexuality "can be an acceptable lifestyle." For gays and their supporters, this would mean no Social Security, no student or veterans' aid and no campaign funds to the Democratic Party if its platform continues to have a gay rights plank.

Today, few people expect the Family Protection Act to pass, but gay activists still regard the legislation with deadly seriousness. And if the House's passage in June of the so-called McDonald Amendment to the Legal Services Corporation authorization bill is any sign of things to come, they have good reason to be worried.

Rep. Larry McDonald (D-Ga.) waited until the Legal Services measure came to the floor to propose a rider that would prohibit the agency from taking on gay rights litigation or implementing a policy of nondiscrimination against gays in hiring. The amendment was defeated in a voice vote, but McDonald demanded a roll call tally, and the tide turned in a big way: 281 for, 124 against. The authorization bill is now languishing in Senate committee, but Legal Services officials fully expect it to pass, the McDonald Amendment included.

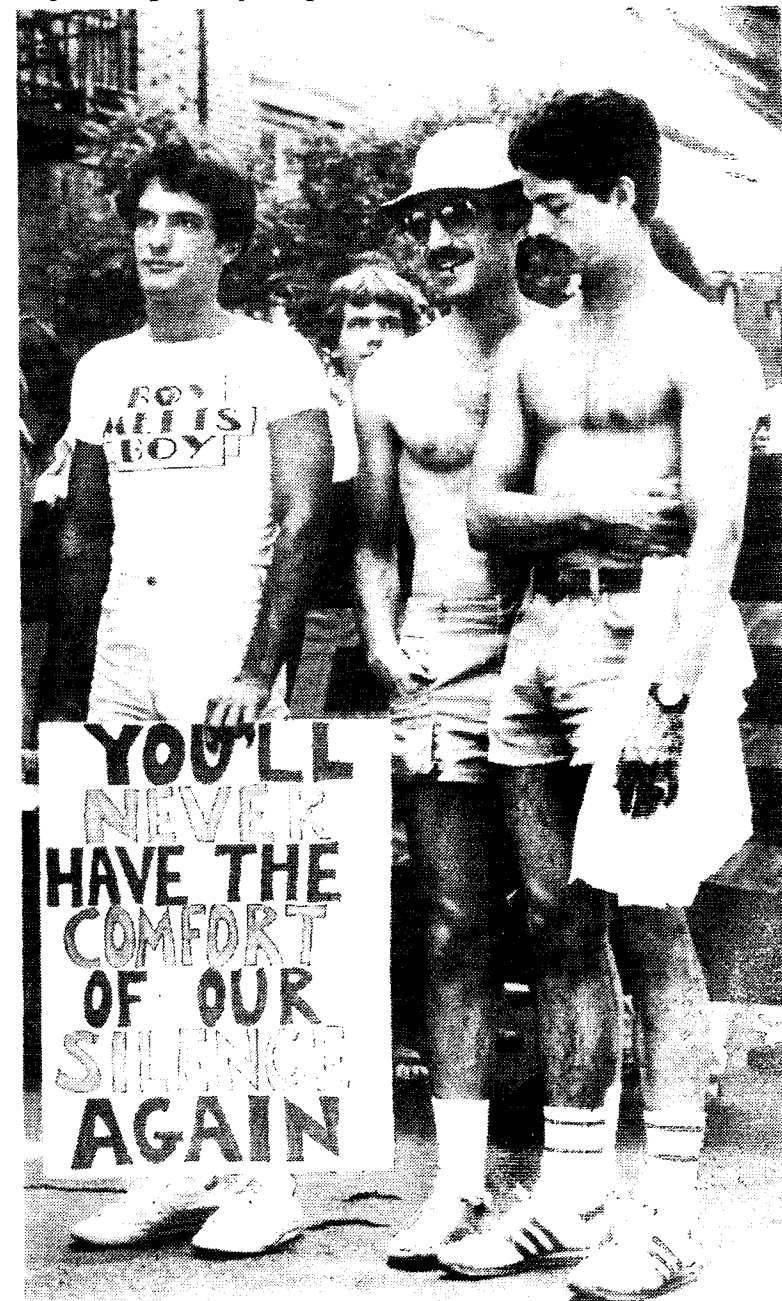
The substance of the McDonald Amendment may prove academic, as President Reagan appears likely to veto the entire Legal Services bill. Nevertheless, its passage is instructive: Not only does it accomplish in one area what the Family Protection Act would do across the board—deny federal funds to homosexuals—it also heralds a new, more subtle strategy for the right.

Congress is afraid to pass big pieces of oppressive legislation, says Henry Dudek of Integrity/Dignity, an organization of gay Christians in Madison, Wisc., because the legislators are already getting flak for hurting people with budget cuts. Instead, Dudek expects conservatives to push through the anti-gay agenda of the Family Protection Act in bits and pieces, per McDonald's example, by bringing up amendments to bills only as they near a vote. In this way, they avoid the debates and revisions of congressional committees and force possible supporters of gay rights to come out of the closet and vote on the record—something few liberals seem willing to do.

What's next? Gary Jarmin, head of Christian Voice, which lobbied for the McDonald Amendment, says his organization will push for a similar rider to the upcoming Education Department appropriations bill. He wants to deny federal funds to school districts that hire "avowed" gays—a

move that would, in effect, nullify the nearly 50 local nondiscrimination ordinances that already exist around the country.

In the ongoing battle to allow gay foreigners—now selectively excluded from the United States as "psychopathic personalities" or "sexual deviants"—to enter the home of the free, gay rights advocates may take a cue from the new low-key approach of conservatives. According to Larry Bush in *The Advocate*, the Gay Rights National Lobby wants to attach any reforms to a larger immigration package;



Steve Kagan

though this may mean waiting several years for a vote. The lobby sees little chance of passing a solo measure, he says, though such a bill has been introduced in the House and has more than 20 co-sponsors. The bill's main purpose "is to diffuse criticism that such a change lacks support," Bush writes.

But before Congress tackles the question of gay immigration, the legality of current policy may well be struck down by the courts. A lawyer for Carl Hill, the British gay activist who has twice tested U.S. immigration law by entering the country, is appealing the Immigration and Naturalization Service's July ruling that homosexual aliens may be turned away for psychiatric reasons ("In Short," July 29). Also, the

Lesbian/Gay Freedom Day Parade Committee of San Francisco won an injunction in June against enforcement of the exclusion law. Federal district judge Robert Aguilar ruled that the ban on gay foreigners violates the First Amendment right to free association. But the preliminary injunction holds only within his district and only until the court hears full arguments in the case.

Hill's lawyer, Jeff Appleman, says the INS violated Aguilar's injunction when it ruled against Hill. Appleman predicts Hill's case will be in court for several years, but says he expects to win it with a statutory argument: Since the American Psychiatric Association's 1973 decision to drop homosexuality from its list of diseases, the Surgeon General has stopped "certifying" gays as mentally ill—thus the INS "doesn't have

a diagnosis" on Hill, according to Appleman.

On Oct. 1, the House gave a clear indication of its mood on gay rights issues when it voted overwhelmingly to reject a District of Columbia bill legalizing most forms of consensual adult sexual activity. The measure proposed to eliminate legal sanctions against homosexuality, fornication and adultery, and to allow wives to charge their husbands with rape.

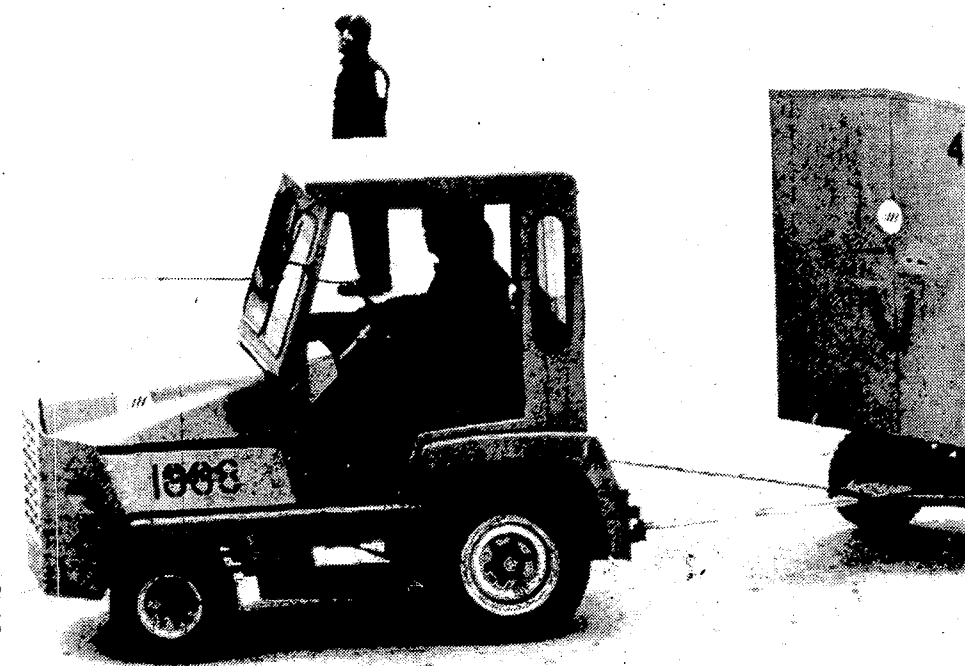
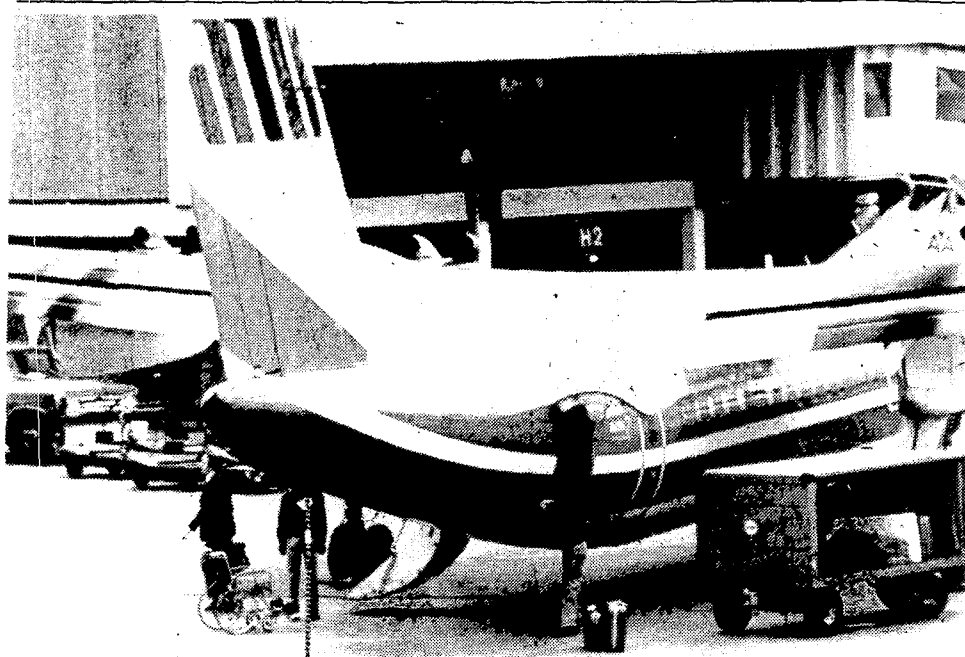
The so-called Moral Majority conducted a massive mail and lobbying campaign prior to the House vote, and called defeat of the ordinance their first major federal legislative victory.

—Eeroos Egerton

Brooks Egerton recently completed an internship at *The Progressive*.

IN THE NATION

LABOR



Paul Cornstock

PATCO's defeat further divided the already fractious airline unions, just when they most needed unity.

Hard times hit the pilots' union—and its lofty self-image

By Michael Hoyt

NEW YORK

YOU CAN READ THE FRUSTRATION on Ray Rogers' face. By now his carefully orchestrated symphony of a campaign against New York Air—the runaway, nonunion child of unionized Texas International Airlines—was supposed to be at a crescendo. Airline employees and other labor groups were to be picketing in three cities the airline serves, and New York Air's board members were to be feeling various sorts of heat. By now, the issue of airline union-busting was supposed to be planted in the public's mind, along with the logo Rogers designed for New York Air—a snake in the Big Apple.

Rogers was the architect of the "corporate campaign" that the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union used on J.P. Stevens. This time he is working for the Air Line Pilots Association (ALPA), which set him loose last May with a \$500,000 budget. But the campaign was punctured before it reached full steam, a victim of the PATCO strike.

As brilliant and innovative as Rogers' "corporate campaign" strategies are,

they rely heavily on an old-fashioned concept—union solidarity. Once the pilots failed to come to PATCO's aid they found they couldn't rouse much labor support against New York Air. Rogers' campaign was quietly shifted to a back burner, to simmer while ALPA gauges the damage. "This is not my favorite subject," Rogers said.

Nor is it a favorite at ALPA, which is celebrating an unhappy 50th anniversary this year. New York Air is just one of the spreading results of the air deregulation law of 1978. Deregulation has meant salary cuts and layoffs at many large airlines, not only for pilots (10 percent of ALPA's members were on furlough in July, before the PATCO strike), but also for mechanics, flight attendants, ticket agents and the rest of the air transportation workforce. At the same time it has given rise to dozens of small, nonunion airlines that threaten to pull down salaries and benefits. It's an emergency for air labor, and PATCO's timing couldn't have been worse.

Airline unions are a historically fractious lot, but just when their need for solidarity was becoming apparent—because of deregulation—the chances of achieving it were dimmed by the acrimony in the wake of labor's failures in the PATCO strike.

"We could have been the heroes of the labor movement and instead we isolated ourselves from it," one pilot and ALPA official said. "And we're going to need the labor movement very badly in a little while."

Deregulating labor.

Until Jimmy Carter signed the Airline Deregulation Act of 1978, the air industry was treated as a public resource, a closely-regulated utility. It was difficult to start routes, drop routes or change prices, and it was harder yet to start an airline. Rates were essentially based on average costs, and any airline that could hold costs below the mean curve came out well in the black. The industry was somewhat comfortably padded, but stable.

Deregulation was pushed as a pro-consumer bill. The idea was to let market forces work unencumbered, and deregulation advocates predicted more and cheaper flights. Whether the law has aided consumers is debatable: while deregulation has produced hot fare wars in some large markets, fares overall have climbed. Friends of deregulation blame that on skyrocketing fuel prices, and they continue to predict cheaper flights as competition comes to bear. The enemies of deregulation say that passengers on less populated routes are subsidizing the new discounts and that fares will continue to rise as airlines spend fortunes trying to steal each other's customers.

But airline labor and management never had illusions about deregulation's main target: unions. Dozens of brand new airlines, some of them run by former executives of larger carriers backed by venture capital, are undercutting the major companies. They cut costs with smaller, sometimes second-hand airplanes, for example, but mostly with cheaper, nonunion labor. Add high fuel costs and an economic slump, and the result for the industry is murderous competition, with labor—roughly a third of the cost of running an airline—the key variable.

A spokesman for the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers described the effect: "Almost immediately, within just about a week of this thing, the airlines started mergers and cutbacks in service that resulted in layoffs." As deregulation gains momentum now, the layoffs increase. The Machinists count 4,000 members out of work for reasons directly attributable to deregulation, and another 3,200 "because of Reagan's response to the PATCO strike."

So as deregulation's effects multiply, the airline unions suddenly find themselves in the same bind as much of the rest of organized labor today: squeezed between a management on top, that alternately begs for cooperation and threatens loss of jobs, and a growing nonunion labor force below, which provides the lever to force wages and benefits down. "It may take some time before the rank-and-file union members fully appreciate the implications of the new climate," says an airline industry monograph prepared for investors by Lehman Brothers Kuhn Loeb, Inc.

The monograph foresees a brief period of "labor unrest" before employees adjust to "reality." Indeed, the unions have not been relaxed. The pilots, for example, embarked in 1980 on their first organizing drive in years, signing up two of the new upstarts, Pacific Southwest in California and Cascade in Washington State. Then they set their sights on New York Air, which began operations last December but was not really a new airline—ALPA calls it an "alter ego" of Texas International Airlines, or TXI.

Frank Lorenzo, the brains behind TXI, set up a holding company (Texas Air Corporation) through which he transferred funds and airplanes from his unionized firm to New York Air, where he refused to honor union contracts. ALPA saw the start of a dangerous trend: New York Air pilots make about \$30,000 a year for more flying time than TXI pilots put in for about twice as much money. The other lesser-paid unions can make similar comparisons.

"Frank Lorenzo and his airlines are

out to break the unions, and we have to stop him in his tracks—it's as simple as that," ALPA president J.J. O'Donnell said in announcing Ray Rogers' campaign.

ALPA put the New York Air campaign on hold, including Rogers' plan to throw ALPA's weight in with Continental Airlines, Inc., and its employees in their fight to keep Lorenzo from taking over Continental. That eight-month struggle ended Oct. 12, when President Reagan sanctioned the deal, allowing TXI to take control of 50.3 percent of Continental's stock. "We have got the equipment and the routes for Lorenzo to spin off 15 New York Airs right away," a Continental employee said.

As the Lehman Brothers monograph concluded, "Investors should find it rewarding to consider labor-management developments as they unfold for each airline.... There should be little doubt that a revolution is at hand in a key aspect of this labor-intensive industry."

What could unions do? "They could get together and knock out a New York Air, for one," said Ray Rogers, who notes that the pilots' union may ask other airline unions to help foot the bill for another run at Lorenzo. "They could sign a pact that no airline union will cross another's picket line, which they've unfortunately been doing for a long time. They could pick an airline and launch a coordinated organizing drive. They could lobby together for legislation."

Flying vice-presidents.

There are 21 unions in the airline industry, with histories and—in some cases—attitudes that work against solidarity. Aside from the Machinists, which with 88,000 airline members is the world's largest airline union, and ALPA, with some 33,000, the unions are somewhat fragmented. The Transport Workers Union, for example, represents flight dispatchers, flight attendants, mechanics, clerks, agents and others. The Teamsters have a small handful in every category of job. And while the Association of Flight Attendants represents the majority of workers in that category, there are also several independent attendants' unions.

Pilots are the most likely breaking point whenever air labor tries for a united front. They are resented for their high salaries, and in turn seem resentful of having to associate with other workers. "Pilots tend to think of themselves as management, another vice-president flying around a million-dollar asset," said an ALPA official who asked not to be identified. "But they are workers just like anyone else. It's an accident of history and technology that we make as much as we do."

ALPA was born in the Depression, forged by a pilot named David Behncke during a threatened wage cutback at United Airlines. But as George Hopkins writes in *The Airline Pilots*, his history of the union, pilots unionized to protect their image as much as their financial welfare. The image came from the early days of aviation—when brave men climbed into fragile contraptions that flew—and from World War I, when the skill and deadly grace of aerial dogfights provided a counterpoint to the mud and trenches below.

The image was also pushed by the first commercial carriers, who in the '20s put their pilots in snappy uniforms and gave them high salaries along with titles like "captain" and "first mate"—all to combat insecurity in potential customers, who at that time were still not certain God wanted people to fly.

The union formed as the carriers began to reverse their thinking, Hopkins explains: "As the Depression worsened in the winter of 1930-31, *Aviation* (the airline trade journal) openly speculated that not only pilot salaries but pilot status should be cut. With the coming of blind flying, *Aviation* reasoned that pilots would merely follow electronic beams through the sky while down below operations managers would make all critical decisions...." Thus the seeds of the longstanding enmity between pilots and air traffic controllers, as well as the

Continued on page 10

PHILADELPHIA

The general strike that wasn't

By David Moberg

PHILADELPHIA

A FINANCIAL CRISIS IN PHILADELPHIA's public schools has been in the making for several years now. This fall it finally came to a head as the board of education announced that its projected \$900 million budget for fiscal year 1982 would be \$233 million in the red. To remedy that, it would cut over 3,500 positions—most of them teachers—and cancel the scheduled 10 percent pay increase and benefit improvements for teacher union members. The board also increased class size from 33 to 36 students and dropped or drastically curtailed around 50 programs for reading, art, music, aid to problem students, counseling, libraries, bilingual education and much more.

With those harsh measures the board not only violated the contract that it signed with the teachers union last year but also approved precisely those program changes described last spring by the school superintendent as likely to devastate Philadelphia's public schools and leave them little more than a baby-sitting service.

The revocation of the teachers' contract provoked a walkout on Sept. 8 by the 22,000 members of the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers, slightly more than half of whom are classroom teachers. Protests mounted as the strike dragged on and political leaders in the city could not agree on a solution—though all assumed that the teachers should carry the bulk of the financial burden. Parents clamored for any action that would get their kids back in school. Unions decried violation of contract and union-busting. (The court ruled that the teachers' contract was financially unenforceable, because it violated state law requiring a balanced budget, even though another state law prohibits layoffs to balance budgets. Nevertheless, by a curious turn of judicial logic, the judge ruled the contract was still in force and teachers therefore could not legally strike.)

At the urging of teachers union president John Murray, who was elected just two years ago, Philadelphia's Central Labor Council voted unanimously to call a general strike. Two unions led the drive for a general strike, the hospital workers (Local 1199C) and the white-collar and professional district council of AFSCME (municipal employees). But the crucial muscle had to come from the Transport Workers Union, which had undergone a strike earlier this year and was still under injunction, and the Teamsters. And as the Oct. 28 date approached those key unions, as well as the bulk of the local federation, remained solid.

Who pays the teacher?

The general strike, with its political connotations, was an appropriate escalation of the teachers' contract dispute. Although nominally—and in some ways substantively—a financial crisis, the Philadelphia school conflict is fundamentally a political crisis.

If the school system is not adequately supported, Henry Nicholas, president of the hospital workers, argues, "the families of the poor and working class will have no means to educate their kids. The issue is more than a collective bargaining agreement. It's who funds education."

This year's deficit—about \$70 million earned over from last year and \$160 million now—arose largely because of a political unwillingness to develop a progressive tax base for public education. What shows up in several ways. Three-fourths of the local tax contribution to the school budget, which in turn makes up one-third of the total expenditure, comes from real estate taxes. Unlike many parts of the country, real estate in Philadelphia has not provided a contin-

uously inflated tax base to match the rising costs of the schools. (The city budget is largely supported by a tax wage that does keep up better with inflation.) Furthermore, tax assessments have been grossly unfair, ranging from 20 percent of market value in affluent areas to 80 percent of value in poorer neighborhoods.

Corporations in the city have also gotten off the hook. In 1972 the corporate net income tax support for schools was dropped. Just this year the City Council rejected an oil refinery tax that could have brought in \$75 million a year. Increasingly businesses have been granted tax abatements, despite evidence that such giveaways do little to gain or retain jobs. Also, according to a governor's commission, the city collects only \$7 million a year in tax on unearned income—mainly going to wealthier people—but should collect \$42 million.

The school crisis is fundamentally political, as the cities' unions understood.



In addition to laying off teachers and cancelling a pay raise the board proposed dropping many programs such as music, art and remedial instruction.

Combining state and local taxes for a composite manufacturing company, Philadelphia ranks seventh among the top 10 cities, but on local taxes it is at the bottom.

Rizzo's revenge.

With corporations and the wealthy escaping the demands of a progressive tax system, political squabbling develops among the rest of the population. Seventy percent of Philadelphians do not have children in public schools. (There are 213,000 students in public schools, fewer than 100,000 in Catholic schools.) Seventy percent of the kids in the schools are black or Hispanic. Consequently, many lower and middle-income whites write off the schools and don't want to support them, and the anti-city state legislature does the same. The school board has sued for \$45 million in funds for special education that the state has not provided despite a legal mandate to do so. (The state has finally agreed to cough up part of that, but a \$36 million shortfall in special

education support for fiscal 1982 is still in question.)

The problem has been compounded by incompetent school administration, the political decisions of former Mayor Frank Rizzo, the failure of Mayor Green to provide leadership in anything but fighting public employee unions and the power of a local teachers union that has been very successful in advancing its members' contractual interests but has been far less successful—either in fact or in public image—in using its clout for the benefit of students and the community.

Green and many others in Philadelphia have been trying to get rid of School Superintendent Michael Marcuse, but his position has remained secure due to a powerful network of Rizzo appointees and recipients of school system patronage. Critics contend Marcuse wastes money due to poor planning and top-heavy administration.

Rizzo, who appointed Marcuse, followed a pattern established earlier by Chicago's Mayor Richard Daley of trying to buy off public employees and their unions, ignoring needs of the black community and failing to take the needed steps to pay the city bills. "We are reaping the results of the Rizzo years," Parents Unions executive coordinator Happy Fernandez says.

But liberal Green is no improvement. After personally intervening last year to settle the teachers strike, this year he

between some black leaders and the union during the strike. This fall the teachers wanted labor solidarity, but last spring they crossed picket lines of striking maintenance workers in the schools.

The union has, in a short time, greatly improved teacher working conditions. The average teacher wage in Philadelphia, \$23,900 a school year, is the highest in the country, though close to that of other big cities. But it has also won protection of some positions and salaries that even the most sympathetic observer would find hard to justify.

Insiders claim that the union was close to a renegotiated contract a few weeks ago that would have spanned three to five years, slowed the pace of layoffs and delayed pay increases. But worries of internal political threats from rivals drove Murray to take a harder line. The union is, however, ready to compromises on some points: the pay increases can be delayed but must be paid as a lump sum next summer and teacher pay can be stretched out over 12 months.

"Our position is that we are willing to talk about or negotiate anything that affects teachers or people we represent," vice president Raymond Pollard says. "But we're not even going to talk about cutting programs for kids." Earlier, the union had been talking mainly about contractual rights, but now has shifted to defending quality education to win friends. But it still has no plan of its own for new revenues. Pollard did argue that if teachers had to take a cut because of a financial crisis, the schools should be treated like a bankruptcy and all creditors—the banks holding bonds, the vendors with their contracts—should share equally in the sacrifice.

The evening before the general strike was scheduled an appeals court partially

overturned the lower court decision. It ruled that although the new contract was invalid because the school board did not have the money, the teachers should return to work under the last valid contract. That preserves the threatened jobs but does not restore the pay hike. The general strike was called off, teachers returned and the union could take satisfaction with a partial victory while continuing negotiations.

Though there was no test of whether Philadelphia's unions could actually get their members out on a general strike, clearly their threat precipitated a compromise that benefited the teachers. It stands as a small but meaningful contrast to the broken air controllers strike. And it suggests why unions, working in the current hostile political and economic environment, must go beyond traditional collective bargaining in the direction of greater political initiative, solidarity despite legal risks and rethinking of their demands to encompass the broader needs of the community. ■

NUCLEAR WASTES

By Ann Spanel

NEW YORK

New Jersey has a radioactive road

THE MAYWOOD CHEMICAL Company had been dumping piles of radioactive waste in the northern New Jersey communities of Maywood and Rochelle Park since 1915, but the problem only came to light last year. Though the Atomic Energy Commission and its successor, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC), have been reviewing the radioactive-dumping license of Maywood Chemical and its successor, Stepan Chemical, since the mid-'50s, the public knew nothing about the situation until an amateur geologist accidentally discovered high concentrations of radioactivity along Route 17. (He had been searching for two canisters of radioactive iridium that fell off a truck during a shipping accident.)

The contamination, according to an April 1981 NRC aerial survey, is widespread. The sandy dirt containing thorium—a naturally occurring element that retains half its radioactivity for 14 billion years—was not only used in construction on Route 17 but also dumped in several places: in a vacant lot behind a carwash; under a Sears distribution center; in a large swampy area close to the Saddle River (which provides drinking water for many Bergen County towns); and under at least six homes. A total of 2.16 million pounds of the waste has been disposed of illegally.

In one of the affected homes, radiation levels this year were measured to be as high as 0.25 millirems (M/rem) per hour, or 250 times normal background radiation for the Maywood community. In the yard behind the house, the levels measured 100 to 300 times normal background. The previous owner, now deceased, had worked for Maywood Chemical during the '40s and had hauled truckload after truckload of the dirt to his backyard to use for cheap landfill.

As for the present danger to the residents of those houses, John Kinnerman of the NRC has said, "I think it's not very serious on a day-to-day basis. That doesn't mean it's desirable, but I think it would be irresponsible for me to say what I don't believe—that they have to leave their houses right away."

Yet in a May 1981 meeting with the New Jersey Department of Environmental Protection, the federal Department of Energy and the Environmental Protection Agency, the NRC's director of safeguards and radiological safety told officials present that he would not recommend the most contaminated house for continued occupancy. Its present



New Jersey has already had its share of clean-up woes. Here, workers in Elizabeth contemplate the results of a chemical explosion.

owners have lived there for six years and have been receiving four times the maximum permissible annual dosage of radiation—the equivalent of about 40 chest X-rays each year for six years.

In contrast to the NRC's public disclaimers, a recent interagency memorandum expressed considerable concern for the public's safety. "We believe," it concludes, "that it would be in the public interest for the NRC to make whole body counting [of radiation dosage] available to the residents in the vicinity

of Stepan Chemical Company." But this project would cost the NRC up to \$200,000 every three months, and could set an expensive precedent for other areas of the country with radiological problems.

Bergen County's water supply is also endangered. A 1961 Atomic Energy Commission memorandum noted that "A mound of 170,660 pounds of thorium phosphate is stored in the open, adjacent to the main roadway of the plant. ...The mound is adjacent to a marsh area, which drains into the Saddle River, part of the drinking-water supply of Bergen County." (The Hackensack Water Company, which services 60 towns in northern New Jersey, draws heavily from the Saddle River.)

Though thorium is not water soluble, radium (the first radioactive decay product of thorium) is, and it and its gaseous relative, radon (once called thoron), are automatically released by decaying thorium. Radium is a well-known agent of bone cancer and leukemia, and airborne radon is a leading source of lung cancer among uranium miners. (At one time thorium, now used chiefly to make gas lanterns glow, was injected into patients' veins to make their bones or organs glow, until it was recognized that this means of diagnosis could prove lethal.)

The Manhattan legacy.

Responsibility for the clean-up of the waste—which has also been found in the towns of Hackensack and Lodi and, according to one NRC report, under a Paramus shopping mall that serves 30,000 people a day—has been shifted from one agency to another. The NRC is not legally empowered to take action. The Environmental Protection Agency also does not cleaning up. According to Jeff Risberg, an aide to Rep. Marge Roukema (R-N.J.), the federal Superfund will be so difficult to funnel into the state

that the much smaller New Jersey Spill Fund is a more realistic option.

One of the many ironies of the Maywood case is that Rep. Roukema, who has been prodding the federal agencies to clean up her district, is a pro-nuclear, conservative Republican.

But perhaps the most far-reaching irony is that the Maywood wastes, first produced during World War I when the German supply of thorium had been cut off, may ultimately be disposed of as a consequence of the Manhattan Project during World War II. Scores of millions of tons of radioactive wastes were generated during the production of the first atomic bomb, and there are still 460 contaminated sites across the country. So far the Department of Energy has chosen only 34 for decontamination.

Four sites are contaminated in New Jersey alone, and one of them, according to Sierra Club staff physicist Marvin Resnikoff, may be used as a political lever to open up a nine-state regional dumpsite in the state. The uranium ore sampling plant at Middlesex was one of the three main storage sites for uranium imported from the Belgian Congo and Canada for bomb manufacture. Radiation levels just south of the plant now measure 1,847 times background, and there are 27 irradiated sites nearby, including seven houses and the rectory of Our Lady of Mount Virgin. But the Department of Energy will clean up these sites only if New Jersey agrees to find what amounts to permanent storage of the wastes from all four sites within its borders. The state has signed an agreement to that effect with the Department of Energy's Formerly Utilized Sites Remedial Action Project (FUSRAP, pronounced either Fuse-rap or Fuzz-rap).

FUSRAP director Ed Delaney and an attorney for the New Jersey Department of Environmental Protection, agrees that, once opened, such a dump site, while intended for military wastes only, could

Federal clean-up help may hinge on New Jersey's accepting new dump sites for military wastes.

also be used for commercial wastes. (The Department of Energy handles all military wastes from atomic submarines and airborne warheads and the like and already has seven disposal sites of its own.)

Two grim precedents exist for such joint ventures by the military and commercial industries. In Canonsburg, Pa., a residential and commercial town 23 miles from Pittsburgh, the Vitro Corporation of America, one of the big uranium contractors for the Manhattan Project, dumped 200,000 tons of radioactive material into a lagoon and onto ground that was later covered by an industrial park. Radium levels 3,000 times federal standards were later found in the lagoon, which drains into the Ohio River, a source of drinking water for several communities downstream. The Atomic Energy Commission gave Vitro permission for the dumping without any legal authority to do so in 1965.

And in Lewiston, N.Y., eight miles north of Niagara Falls, African Metals, a subsidiary of a Belgian company, was permitted to dump 20,000 tons of uranium ore into reservoirs at an old WWII factory. Monitoring of surrounding water began only in 1979, and no reliable results have yet been released. African Metals still holds a lease in Lewiston, and expects to leave when it expires in 1983.

Ann Spanel has organized the New York State Coalition Against Radium Mining. Linda Sachs and Marvin Resnikoff assisted in the preparation of this article.

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POLAND

Strike wave divides union

By David Ost

WARSAW

SINCE THE ELEVATION OF GENERAL Jaruzelski to first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party, not a day has gone by without another state-sponsored attack on Solidarity. The current round of crackdowns has been directed against the union's news and information network; first in Katowice and then in Wroclaw union news vendors were prevented from distributing pamphlets and bulletins, an activity Solidarity considers crucial, as it is denied steady access to the mass media. The police also obstructed the activity of "Radio Solidarnosc," which is actually only a van with a loudspeaker.

But this kind of government suppression began before the Jaruzelski appointment. In the last months the Polish authorities have initiated more than 200 court cases against union press activists—which makes the opinion, popular in the West, that Jaruzelski's promotion represents a continuation of the policy of dialogue appear quite ridiculous here.

It is against this very tense backdrop that the latest, and perhaps most critical, round of strikes have taken place. The immediate cause of most of them has been the rapid deterioration of the food situation; few cities have enough supplies to cover their ration allocations. In Warsaw women (and it is only women) line up at the meat stores at midnight. In Cyrartow, where the latest strike wave began

The situation is explosive because Poles have lost not only their patience but also their fear.

on Oct. 12, the wait has been two or three days.

The current wave of strikes is explosive because people have now lost not only their patience, but also, more importantly, their fear. The hesitancy of Solidarity's first month of existence has vanished. As one woman in Cyrartow said, "We've gone through so much, we've had to put up with so much, first at work and then providing at home. They can call a state of emergency. We're not afraid of anything anymore." This feeling stretches beyond Cyrartow and beyond Solidarity. Indeed the Cyrartow strike is fully supported by the old, so-called branch unions.

The environment is now so tense that the national leadership of Solidarity, while it can coordinate the initiation of protest actions, cannot guarantee their termination. The food strikes present special difficulties. They have been so contagious and so difficult to stop because each region wants to make sure that the situation elsewhere is not improved at their expense. And the union itself is divided on what attitude to take toward these strikes. Without knowing what's really in the state coffers (because they are denied participation in food distribution) it is difficult for Solidarity to gauge what effect the strikes can hope to have. It would seem that strikes can't improve the long-run situation, yet in the short run there have been undeniable gains, for example in Cyrartow.

This situation has led to a total collapse of popular confidence in the authorities. Is there food or isn't there? No one will



Solidarity's national congress debated economic programs as well as strike strategy.

be sure until representatives of society, not just of the state, manage in the distribution of food. But the government rejects this as a "political" demand threatening "the foundations of socialism," and then denounces Solidarity for being a "political" movement. They are right, of course. With politics and economics so inextricably connected, Solidarity's demands necessarily are political ones.

A union divided.

The union leadership is seriously divided on what path to pursue in the face of renewed government intransigence. These differences emerged during the meeting of the National Committee on Oct. 22 and 23, which issued the call for a one-hour general strike. Many NC members questioned the effectiveness of random and general strikes at this point,

representatives of several factories dependent on Cyrartow for supplies petitioned the workers of that city to try "some other form of protest" because a strike cripples their work as well. The petition was rejected.)

Jan Rulewski of Bydgoszcz—always anxious to shock his listeners—said that what is needed is a completely new campaign for a completely new Polish state. "We'll organize elections ourselves and create a second parliament," he suggested. Another NC member from Silesia called for the formation of a workers' militia. Lech Walesa sharply criticized these extremist views, arguing that there are three untouchable parts of the existing social body: the party-state administration; the trade unions; and the self-management councils. The task is to create a fourth body to oversee conflicts among



A poster announcing the national congress.

arguing instead for alternative forms of protest ranging from the organization of mass public meetings (indoors), to selected strikes against the party press (in response to harassment of union press) or even selected strikes against the arms industry. Other NC officials held that strikes were still the weapon of choice, or at least, as Marian Jurczyk of Szczecin suggested, the weapon of necessity, if only because the union ranks are demanding it. (But not all rank and filers are calling for strikes. In a very significant episode,

the three.

The differences expressed at the National Committee sessions reflect the scope of views now competing throughout the union. Solidarity is at a crucial stage in its internal development; the unity and solidarity of its ranks and leaders are being severely tried by persistent government intransigence. Solidarnosc must be different from what it was in August, if only because the defense of its members in conditions of unprecedented economic crisis requires different actions.

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To say it must now contemplate "political" positions is almost trite. No one any longer tries to maintain the fiction that Solidarity is apolitical.

But what should its political goals be? That is the question that is currently disrupting the union, and in some places even threatening to undermine it. The pluralism inside the union threatens to become the pluralism outside—with all the ideological and programmatic differences ready to burst into the open.

The "radical" right.

It is difficult to identify all the political currents. And it is virtually impossible to do so with terms borrowed from Western, especially American, politics. The "radicals" in Poland are, for the most part, "rightists" who find their historical antecedents in the authoritarian "Polish" regime of the period between the wars. They are the proponents of immediate, drastic economic changes and champion the struggle to "make Poland Poland." The "leftists" are the "social democrats," which is normally considered the "socialist" alternative to existing socialism. Many of the "social democrats" also consider themselves "syndicalists," but their reluctance to dismantle the entire economic system earns them the label of "moderates" (even though they might be "radicals" in the West).

Two key political tendencies emerged at the recent Solidarity national congress, each based upon a different economic program. The radical proposal for economic reform was advanced by Stephan Kurowski, a 58-year-old Warsaw economist who in August 1980 tried unsuccessfully to become one of the "expert advisors" to the Gdansk strike.

Kurowski has been called "a Polish Friedmanite" for his espousal of an expensive "economic conversion" to lift Poland out of its present crisis. He has called for the transfer of a significant proportion of productive capacity, and almost all of the presently unused industrial plants, from state to private ownership. His agricultural policy stresses total reliance on private farms. Constraints on agricultural accumulation should be abolished, state-owned land should be sold to private hands and industrial priorities should be shifted to produce the machinery and parts needed

by private farmers. Military production should be drastically curtailed, if not eliminated. Kurowski's program also calls for breaking the state monopoly on foreign trade by allowing "certain firms" direct access to foreign markets. Poland should seek extensive rescheduling of foreign debt payments and should join the IMF to assuage foreign skepticism.

The cost of this program will be higher prices to ease short-term pressures on supplies and unemployment to promote

Continued on page 10

Pilots

Continued from page 6

union schizophrenia in the pilot's mind. When Behncke announced that he had chartered the fledgling union with the AFL, he faced an uproar. "He acknowledged that the idea of pilots being associated with common laborers was repugnant," Hopkins writes. "But he pointed out that other highly professional groups, such as actors and movie stars, were members of the federation."

Fifty years later, ALPA insiders say, the leadership of the union "wanted to do what was right" when PATCO went on strike. But the leadership "walks on eggs" with the membership, and the majority of pilots not only didn't want to support PATCO, one pilot said, "they wanted to roll right over them."

But Rogers thinks ALPA has been made a scapegoat, and feels that PATCO must shoulder its share of the blame: "Public opinion toward the strike was that 99 percent of the people were against

it, that this was a group of well-paid people asking for a \$10,000 raise and a 20 percent shorter workweek. And the public includes the rank and file.

"So the situation was created that leaders of the pilots' union could no more call on members to strike than the president of the Machinists could, or any other union," Rogers said.

"It's a very sensitive issue," said Fran Zucker, a flight attendants' union spokesman. "We asked PATCO to keep us abreast way back in March, and we never heard from them again. Feelings are mixed."

But William Scheri, head of air transport for the Machinists, said the airline unions do cooperate. He points to the Airline Coordinating Committee, made up of representatives of all the AFL-CIO unions in air transportation. The committee was formed in 1978, the same year as the deregulation law, and meets monthly. PATCO, the only publicly-employed union in the industry and, curiously, the only one not drastically affected by deregulation, was a regular member until its recent troubles.

Now PATCO's strike has had the odd effect of increasing the finger-pointing

within air labor while demonstrating the need for real unity. It has heightened feelings of impotence as well as urgency, as labor observes one of its members, however young and brazen, being executed.

Michael Hoyt last wrote for *In These Times* on the labor policies of Frank Perdue.

Poland

Continued from page 9

productivity. But Kurowski downplays these "side effects," stressing instead Poland's bright future under his program. Indeed, Kurowski promises that the crisis can be licked within a year or two at the very most. Promises like this—labelled demagogic by his opponents—have won Kurowski a great deal of support, which is only natural as the population looks desperately for relief. Kurowski's proposals were extremely well received by the delegates at the recent Solidarity congress. But the experts and most of the leadership sided more with Kurow-

ski's opposition.

That opposition centers on another economic program worked out chiefly by economist Ryszard Bugaj and endorsed by the "social-democrats" and many members of KOR (the recently-dissolved Committee to Defend the Workers). It is in all respects a more cautious program than Kurowski's; Bugaj calls it the "realistic variant." The preamble states, "We want to stress that we are not against socialism but against those elements of the system that are its negation." This program, like Kurowski's, calls for substantial aid to private farming and a curtailment of new investment.

The fundamental difference is that there is no appeal to the magic of free enterprise. Consequently there is a more sober presentation of the difficult tasks ahead—coal production must be increased, rationing must be maintained for at least a few years and price increases are essential. The union should demand no additional free Saturdays in 1982 and many plants will have to be closed because of energy and raw material shortages. (Displaced workers must be found work elsewhere, after a period of paid retraining *a la* Sweden.) Bugaj says the possibility of joining the IMF must be explored, but any conditions set by the IMF must be presented to the public for debate.

Because this program lacks the invisible hand of free enterprise, state planning still plays an important role. The program calls for the "socialization" of the planning process, accomplished by reducing the scope of the plan and inviting public representatives to participate in all its activities. Very significantly, the control of the economy in the future is assigned to a reborn *Sejm* (parliament), local governments and self-management committees. The social-democratic perspective of the Bugaj program is most clearly expressed in these long-term goals.

In the end, the Solidarity congress resolved the debate in a revealing way: both Kurowski's and Bugaj's proposals were accepted, and both were placed in the appendix to the main Congress document.

Nonetheless, the conflict between the two sides has become even more intense. Nowhere has the tension been greater than in the key Mazowsce region (Warsaw and surrounding areas) where it has led to open factionalization, deep personal animosities and generalized distrust. Once the model of good organization, the Mazowsce Solidarity region is now in disarray, with the leadership so wrapped up in factional disputes that it has been repeatedly accused of losing touch with the ranks.

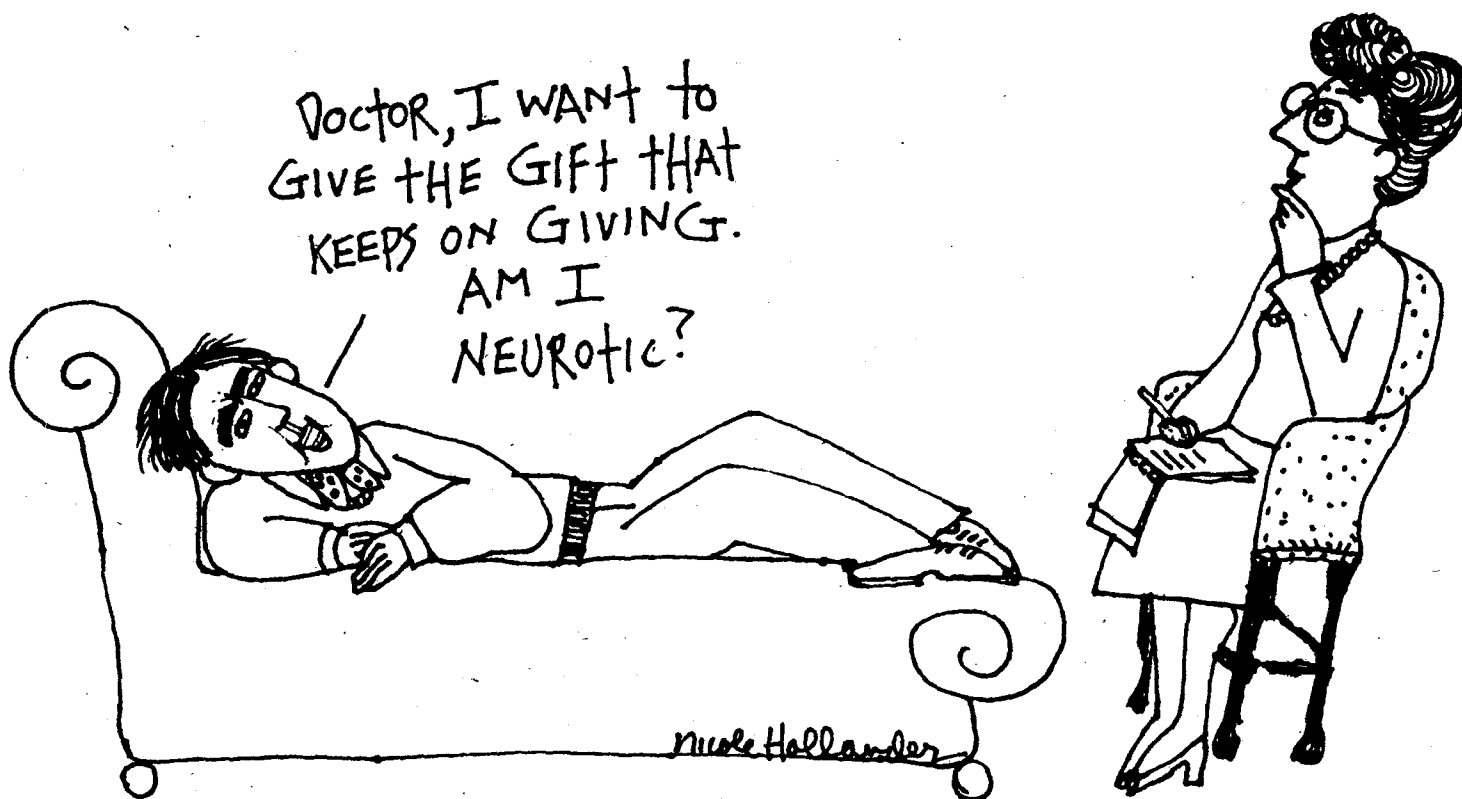
The differences are deeper than Kurowski versus Bugaj. On a more general level it is a struggle between sympathizers of the social-democratic KOR and the sympathizers of the anti-Soviet, nationalist-Catholic KPA (Federation for Polish Independence). Each side has its own daily news bulletin, and, up until recently, each had an equal influence in the presidium of the Mazowsce Solidarity chapter, which made it all but impossible for that body to take action. Finally it was recognized that one faction had to "govern" and one had to "be in opposition." At an Oct. 17 special session, the "social democrats" became the governing group while the "national Catholics" (or "real Poles," as they call themselves) found themselves consigned to the opposition.

But the personal enmities are so deep that many fear the situation cannot be healed. As Zbigniew Bujak—the 26-year-old leader of the Mazowsce region who many see as a future national leader of the union—said at the conclusion of the raucous special session, "From the moment this meeting was called, our region ceased to have any significance, either in the union or *vis a vis* the authorities. We've been broken."

Of course Solidarity is far from broken. But it may be only a matter of time before all the pent-up political differences explode, with unpredictable consequences. The current strikes are perhaps a sign not so much of unity as of desperation.

David Ost is in Warsaw on a Fulbright grant to research the Polish workers' movement there.

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THE MIDDLE EAST

What do the Russians really want?

By Fred Halliday

L O N D O N

WHILE WESTERN GOVERNMENTS continue to stress the dangers of a supposed "Soviet threat" to the Middle East—and in particular to the oil-rich Persian Gulf—the Russians remain consistently pessimistic about the region. It has given them little advantage, and a lot of headaches, in the two-and-a-half decades since Khrushchev first established an alliance with Nasser's Egypt in 1956. Far from seeing themselves as being able to "threaten" the West in the Middle East, the Russians feel that they have been losing out under the combined assaults of American diplomacy, Arab nationalist unreliability and Islamic militancy.

This paradox is explained by two facts. First, the Russians' relationship to the Middle East is the reverse of that of the West. Europe, Japan and the United States are geographically remote from the region, yet they attach enormous economic importance to its oil supplies and its cash-rich markets for manufactured goods.

The Russians have little economic need for the Middle East. Their alleged energy crisis has been shown to be a CIA fiction—even the agency now admits that Russia will be self-sufficient in oil and able to export energy well into the late 1980s. And while the Middle East is the USSR's main third world trading partner, this trade plays a much less important role in the economy than it does in the West. If anything the Middle Eastern states are Moscow's competitors in supplying energy to Western Europe.

But unlike the West the Russians have a geographic link to the Middle East. They are very sensitive to what happens there for strategic and political reasons, much as the United States is sensitive to developments in Central America. Western military exercises, bases and force projections are perceived by the USSR as threats—as are plans to intervene in, say, Iran or Saudi Arabia in the event of internal upheaval.

The United States is talking about sending a rapid deployment force of up to 100,000 troops to the region to safeguard American interests. One can only imagine what the U.S. reaction would be if Pravda started speculating about Soviet preparations for dropping its own rapid deployment force into, say, Nicaragua or Cuba.

Losing friends.

While the West's primary aim has been to secure its access to Middle East oil and to reinforce its allies in the region, the main Soviet aim has been to weaken the West's strategic hold there. And in light of this aim, they see the developments of the past decade as extremely negative—if alleviated somewhat by the manner in which the Reagan administration has now sought to impose its "strategic consensus" on the region. For the second factor in Soviet calculations about the Middle East is their inability to form stable alliances with the regimes of the area.

The great Soviet hope was Egypt, in which they invested for 15 years. Then Sadat came to power, expelled the Russian advisors in 1972, abrogated \$7 billion worth of debts in 1975 and a few days before his death expelled the Soviet ambassador and his remaining economic advisors in a final gesture. The Russians suffered a similar fate in Somalia in 1977, and that country, like Egypt, went on to establish alliances with the West. The Soviets have also suffered in their relations with Algeria, which is now planning to purchase weapons from the West.

Syria and Libya, Russia's only two allies in the central Arab region, are both precarious internally and vulnerable to

external attack—the former from Israel, which has been opposing Syria via Lebanon for several years, and the latter from Egypt and the Sudan, both of which have openly called for the overthrow of Libyan leader Qaddafi.

The current U.S. campaign against Qaddafi has all the makings of a concerted plan to use anti-Soviet fears as a way of preparing the ground for a coup or mutiny in Libya into which Egyptian forces could step. Much of the Western propaganda about Qaddafi is spurious—Sudan's alarmist calls for aid just after Sadat's death last month, for example, turned out to be fakes designed to secure more U.S. aid. But Qaddafi certainly has carried out terrorist actions, such as assassinating his opponents abroad, through his main assistance in this area of action has come not from the KGB but from former CIA employees. (And it was the CIA that, acting on instructions from Nixon and Kissinger, helped Qaddafi secure his position at home in the first years after his 1969 coup.)

Russia's diplomatic efforts toward Syria and Libya are geared not to inciting these unsteady regimes toward more adventures, but rather to holding them back from risky initiatives. Just as Soviet military aid to Egypt in the aftermath of the 1967 Arab-Israeli war was designed to stop the Egyptians from rash attacks on the Israelis, so now the defense assistance given to Damascus and Tripoli has a fundamentally restraining role.

Living with Arab nationalism.

The Russians have found it consistently difficult to deal with Arab radical

regimes precisely because of the intense nationalism they have encountered there. Only in South Yemen, on the southwest tip of the Arabian peninsula, has a more orthodox "socialist-oriented" state come into existence. But even here there are economic and political difficulties, and South Yemen plays only a marginal role in Arab politics. Both Qaddafi and Syrian president Assad are regarded with some suspicion in Moscow because of their adherence to what is seen as the classless and vacuous abstractions of Arab nationalism.

This problem has also bedeviled Soviet involvement in the Arab-Israeli issue. Though the Soviet Union has provided substantial military aid to Arab states and the PLO, there still exists a fundamental divergence because of the Soviet Union's insistence that the Arabs recognize Israel's right to exist. At the same time, the USSR has reaped virtually no benefit from the general Arab hostility to the Camp David accords. While many conservative Arab states have rejected what they regard as an American-imposed plan, this rejection has not brought them any nearer to the USSR.

But despite his bellicose stand on the Persian Gulf, and his threat of intervention if unrest breaks out in Saudi Arabia, President Reagan may have brought some relief to the Russians. Iraq, an uneasy ally of the USSR during the late '70s and the object of much U.S. enticement under Nixon and Carter, has recently swung back toward a more pro-Soviet position. The Russians—tired of the uncertainty in Iran and no longer optimistic about establishing a stable relationship

with Khomeini—are prepared to reopen the door to Baghdad. And Baghdad itself is exasperated by Reagan's policies: by his failure to tackle the Palestinian question, by what is regarded as support for Israeli arms supplies to Iran and for the Israeli raid on the Baghdad nuclear reactor, and by the U.S.-backed Saudi policy of keeping down the OPEC price for oil.

The PLO, always willing to consider an opening to the West, has hardened its attitude somewhat recently. During a visit to Moscow in late October Yasir Arafat succeeded in having the PLO mission there given full diplomatic status. The degree of Russian reluctance should be clear from the fact that it took 17 years from the organization's founding for this to occur.

But the greatest Soviet advance may be in Libya itself. Qaddafi's visit to Moscow last spring was not a great success: the obstreperous colonel criticized Soviet policy in Afghanistan and resisted Soviet requests for a proper defense treaty. But in the aftermath of the U.S. attack on Libyan planes in the Gulf of Sidra on Aug. 19 all such reservations were thrown aside. "We are now forced to form a military alliance with whoever is ready to defend us against America," Qaddafi declared. "Neutrality is not possible in time of war." It would be ironic if, in pursuit of a "strategic consensus" in the Middle East, Reagan and Haig were to create a consensus among the Arabs in favor of the USSR.

Fred Halliday, a fellow of the Institute for Policy Studies' Transnational Institute and an editor of *MERIP Reports* and *New Left Review*, reports frequently on the Mideast.



Though Moscow does not take the devil view of Col. Qaddafi, the Russians are uneasy with his brand of Arab nationalism.

Women in These Times

Not long ago there was something called "the women's movement," which—in the public mind at least—stood for a set of issues and ideas. Some of those ideas, greeted with derision in 1969, have passed into the mainstream of American culture: few would argue, for example, that a woman should not command equal pay for equal work; and you can now turn the TV dial to women cops, women lawyers and women doctors as well as waitresses and long-suffering wives.

But other tenets of the movement—such as a woman's right to make her own reproductive decisions—are still in dispute and in fact face an increasingly organized opposition. Even the campaign to codify in the U.S. Constitution a simple statement of equality may be losing rather than gaining ground.

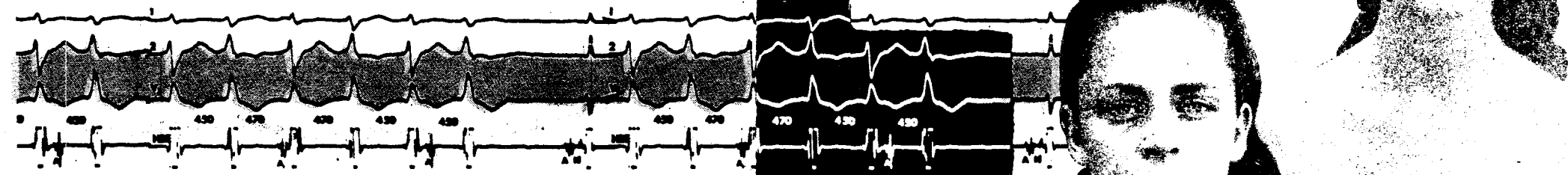
Meanwhile the movement has dispersed. Some women have taken their first outrage over unequal treatment one step further into the politics of separatism or socialism. Others have simply gotten on with their lives and fought battles as they found them—against a fire department that disciplined a nursing mother, a bank that never promoted women clerks, a school that used sexist books, a police department that refused to respond to

family violence or a husband who never touched a diaper. If the movement is less in the public eye, the activities it helped spark have multiplied and diversified, chalking up some victories and suffering some defeats.

Summing up the situation of "Women In These Times" is a huge undertaking. But the need to do so was underscored for us by the enthusiastic response of every woman we contacted about this project. Most agreed to participate, and what began as a series of four or five articles has now grown into the biggest editorial project in the history of our newspaper.

Over the next year and a half, the discussion of women in these times—launched here by Vivian Gornick's report on women scientists—will be carried on in these pages by Ellen Willis, Judy Coburn, Grace Paley, Rita Mae Brown and many others. These writers will take up issues of women's equality on the job, in personal relationships and in the political and social currents of the '80s. They will pursue their investigations into courtrooms and welfare lines, hospitals and state legislatures, bedrooms and boardrooms. And they will confront questions not only of "where are we now?" but also "where do we go from here?"

The series, funded by special contributions, should provide some of the liveliest and most useful reporting of these times.



By Vivian Gornick

I WAS RAISED TO TAKE THE LONG view. Where I come from the revolution was the Holy Grail: an ideal future to which one gave a lifetime of service, it being only questionable whether one would live to lay eyes on the thing itself. When feminism struck me in the late '60s—that is, when I suddenly understood the world as a history of the relations between men and women—I was a natural candidate for acceptance of the notion that the woman's movement involved a generational effort to transform not the laws of the nation but the emotional habits of thousands of years; that the transmutation in the way we see ourselves was in fact our politics. This perspective was both exciting and remarkably calming. It allowed me to observe the slow, uneven progress of feminist thought, monitor the struggle for parity in the professions, watch setback after setback in state legislatures on ERA, legal abortion, equal pay for equal work and not be thrown into despair. It has also allowed me to register the extraordinary influence the women's movement has had over the last 15 years on the way thousands of women and men—in private and in public life—now "see" themselves in relation to each other.

For me, this last is crucial. It persuades me anew that the women's movement has set in motion a wave of social change that can neither be substantially held back nor artificially pushed forward. It is coming in on an historical tide shaped by forces no longer subject to immediate controls.

For the past year I've been researching a book on women in science. How I came to do this, what I thought I'd find when I started the work and what I actually did find, provides a fine approximation of my sense of things.

Three years ago I read *The Eighth Day of Creation*, Horace Freeland Judson's masterly account of the discovery of the structure of DNA. Two aspects of Jud-

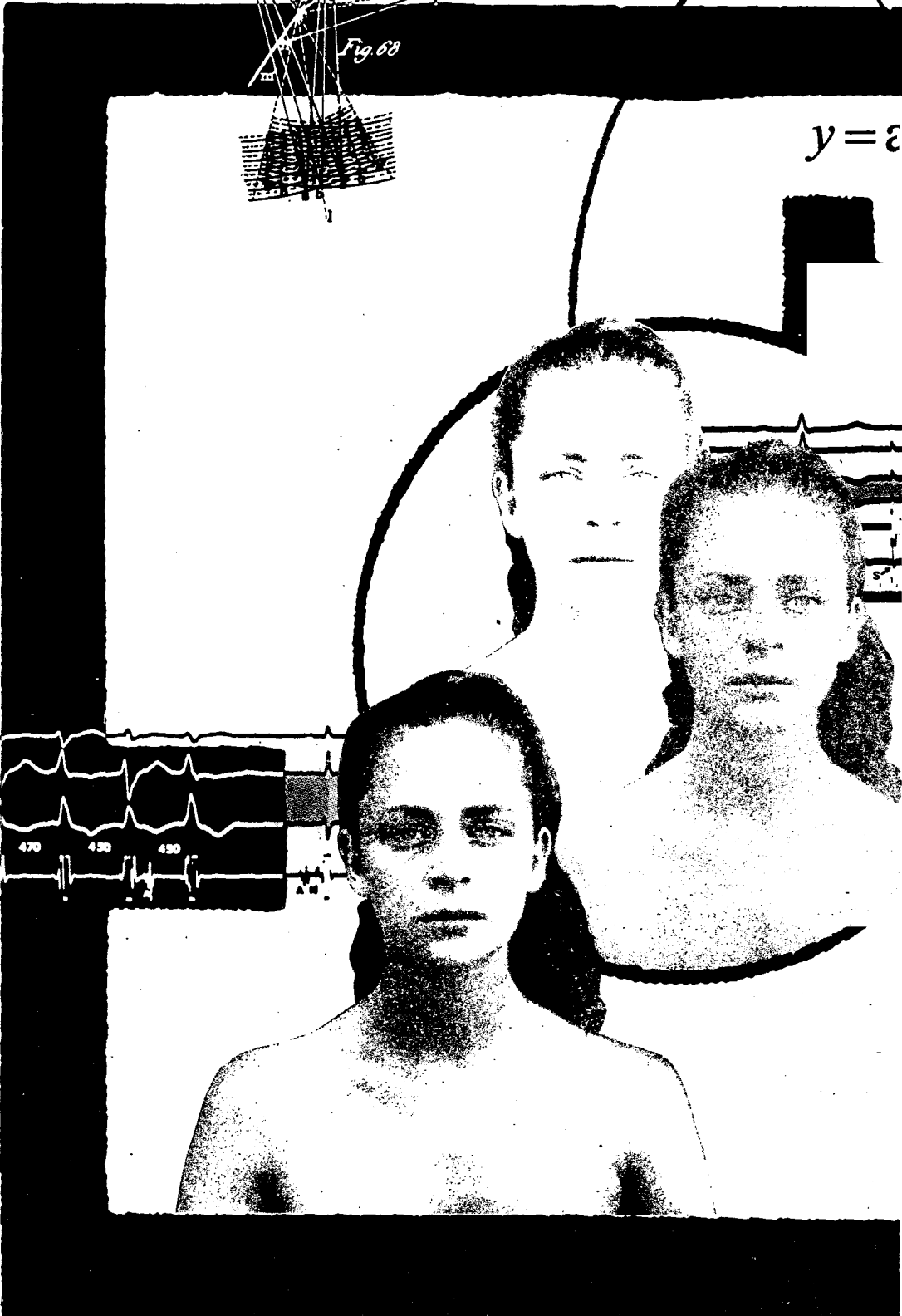
son's packed narrative stayed with me long after I'd put the book down. One was the working companionship of Francis Crick and James Watson, the two biologists who solved the problem and won the Nobel Prize; the other was the isolation of Rosalind Franklin, the X-ray crystallographer whose observations and photographs contributed crucially to the ultimate discovery.

The relationship between Crick and Watson was magnificent—exciting, alive, erotic. It was its own double helix: all attracting opposites and catalytic joinings. These two ate, drank, slept and breathed DNA, welded together in a richness of obsession that was a function of the work. I knew as I was reading that this must be as rare a collaboration in science as it would be elsewhere, but I knew also that it was paradigmatic. This, surely, was the meaning of creative force, in science.

And then there was Rosalind Franklin, of whom Judson practically says: If she'd had someone to talk to chances are she'd have gotten DNA first, it was all there in her notes and photographs, she just didn't know what to make of what she had.... But she didn't have anyone to talk to. She was entirely alone.

Much in Rosalind Franklin's behavior and identity might account for her severe isolation in the London laboratory of Kings College. She was experienced by many as prickly, suspicious, abrasive, defensive. She was also Jewish, and she was not a biologist; in no sense was she in the club—anyone's club. But as I read on in *The Eighth Day* the conviction began to grow in me, and it would not leave me, that woman *qua* woman Franklin was something of a permanent freak in their midst, and that it was this unalterable quality of her being that fed so disastrously into an alienation that might have been ameliorated had she been a man. As a woman, she was a historic stranger in

Collage: Dolores Wilber



the Kings College laboratory: they'd never had them, never wanted them, never known what to do with them; women in the lab at Kings just didn't seem right.

■ In pursuit of a few sentences.

Rosalind Franklin made me begin to think about what it might be like to be a scientist who is a woman. What did it mean to be one, or a few, among the many? What if a woman in science feels she's got to prove herself many times more often than a man does; that her work is more often challenged and less often supported; that she can't get grants, equipment, promotions and tenure as easily as her male counterparts do; that she works under the peculiar strain of an excluding hierarchy of working colleagues that is always operative and always denied. What is life in science like for such a person? What happens to her nerve, her self-confidence, her ability to believe in the evidence of her own intelligence, her capacity for creative thought?

I set out with nothing more than these few sentences in my head to investigate the atmosphere that had generated such

questions, thinking the most obvious way to do it was to go to scientists who were women and say to them: "What's it been like for you?" Nothing, I thought, is more telling than a description of the way it feels to those living it out.

I narrowed my definition of a scientist down to people who did basic research, and accepted as my subjects biologists, chemists, physicists, physiologists and experimental psychologists. I talked with women in their 20s, 30s and 40s, as well as women in their 50s, 60s and 70s. My youngest subject was 24 years old, my oldest 78. I talked with women who worked in industry and in government research institutes, as well as in the academy, women who were laboratory scientists at every level from graduate student to research associate to principal investigator.

I spent time with more than 100 scientists, speaking with them in laboratories, office, restaurants, living-rooms and on park benches in New York, Washington and Boston, California, New Hampshire and Illinois. Because of the great clichés generated by sociological analysis (scientists are always the oldest child, the middle child, the youngest child; they have

IN THESE TIMES

And now we are five. . .

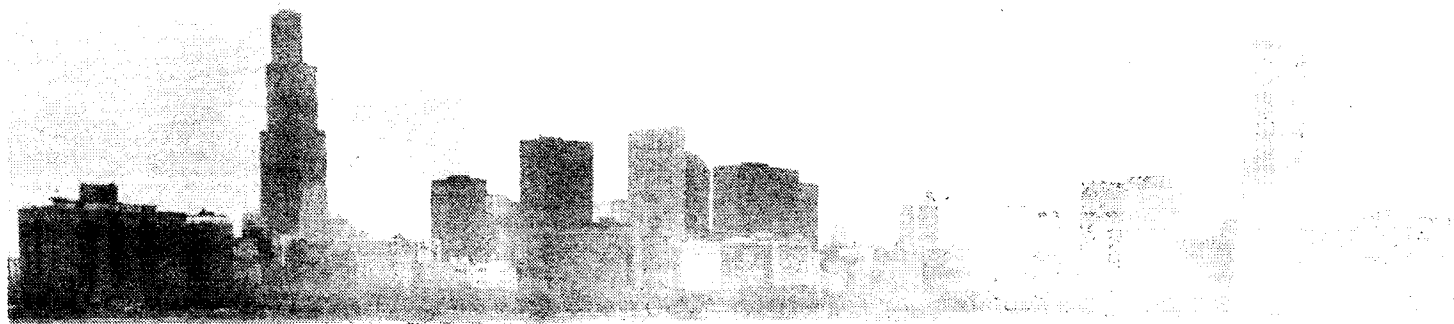
With this issue *In These Times* begins its sixth year of publication. We are proud that in five years we have grown steadily and have established ourselves as the leading newspaper of independent American leftists.

Five years ago, just days after Jimmy Carter was elected President, we said in our first editorial that more and more people were finding the two major parties inadequate and the differences between them insubstantial. Both voters and non-voters know, we said, that the limits set by the major parties prevent the shedding of failed alternatives and the definition of new ones.

We saw then, as we do now, that the political system is at an impasse—that it presents us only with choices between obnoxious or no longer credible alternatives.

We wrote five years ago that corporate capitalism is the unspoken reality of American politics and that the major parties endorse capitalism (though not usually by name) without ever seriously discussing its effects. As the protection agencies of corporate capitalism, the Republican and Democratic parties are committed to accommodating government policy and public expectations to the increasingly limited capacities of the system. If they succeed in keeping the question of corporate power out of public debate, they are only doing their jobs.

But by the same token, their success in this respect is a measure of the failure of socialists to do their job, which is to bring the question of



The *In These Times* staff: Standing, left to right: Josh Kornbluth, Bill Rehm, Grace Faustino, Beth Maschinot, Paul Ginger, Bob Nicklas, Debbie Zucker, Anne Ireland, James Weinstein, Kate Fuller, Karl Rysted, Leenie Folsom, David Moberg, John Echeverri-Gent, John Judis. Kneeling: Jim Rinnert (with Bo), Paul Comstock, Dolores Wilber, Lee Aitken (with Lucy), Jim Steiker, Pat VanderMeer (with P.B.), Ann Tyler. Chicago staff not pictured: Pat Aufderheide, Anne Flanagan, Aaron Frankel, Elizabeth Goldstein, Diane Scott, Emily Young.



Clockwise, from left. Cultural Editor Pat Aufderheide, Editor James Weinstein, Advertising Director Bill Rehm.



capitalism into the center of American politics as the great issue of our time.

In These Times is helping to do that, and we intend to see the job through. Our increasing readership and our growing support—reflected in part in the greetings below—are a partial measure of our achievement, even in the face of painfully inadequate funding and a continuing move toward conservatism in government.

But the job is barely begun. We believe that tens of millions of Americans are ready to consider a socialism deeply committed to democracy. This means a socialism

opposed to the statism of corporate capitalism and committed to the self-government of the people as citizens, workers and freely-associating members of social, political and religious organizations. It means a socialism for which diversity and popular participation is not merely rhetorical, but a basic principle both for the movement today and for a socialist society.

To achieve this, we wrote on our first anniversary, socialists and other leftists should engage in electoral political activity both as an essential part of working people's struggle against corporate domination and as a

way to build into the socialist movement democratic norms rooted in popular sovereignty.

In recent years, and especially since the 1980 election, organized labor has begun to go beyond collective-bargaining politics and toward a struggle over the control of investment as a means of protecting working people's immediate interests. As part of this process, labor has been seeking allies to the left. Similarly, women, blacks, Hispanics, consumer protectionists, environmentalists and community organizations have moved increasingly into conflict with the imperatives of the corporate invest-

ment system and toward an awareness of the need to elect legislators committed to the social goals of the left.

We expect these movements, however tenuous they now are, to continue to develop, and eventually to force a basic realignment of American politics by converging in a major party oriented toward socialism. At the moment there are few public manifestations of such a development, but the need for it is more pressing than ever in the light of current administration policies and the absence of an opposition to pose meaningful alternatives.

Greetings to *In These Times* on its Fifth Anniversary

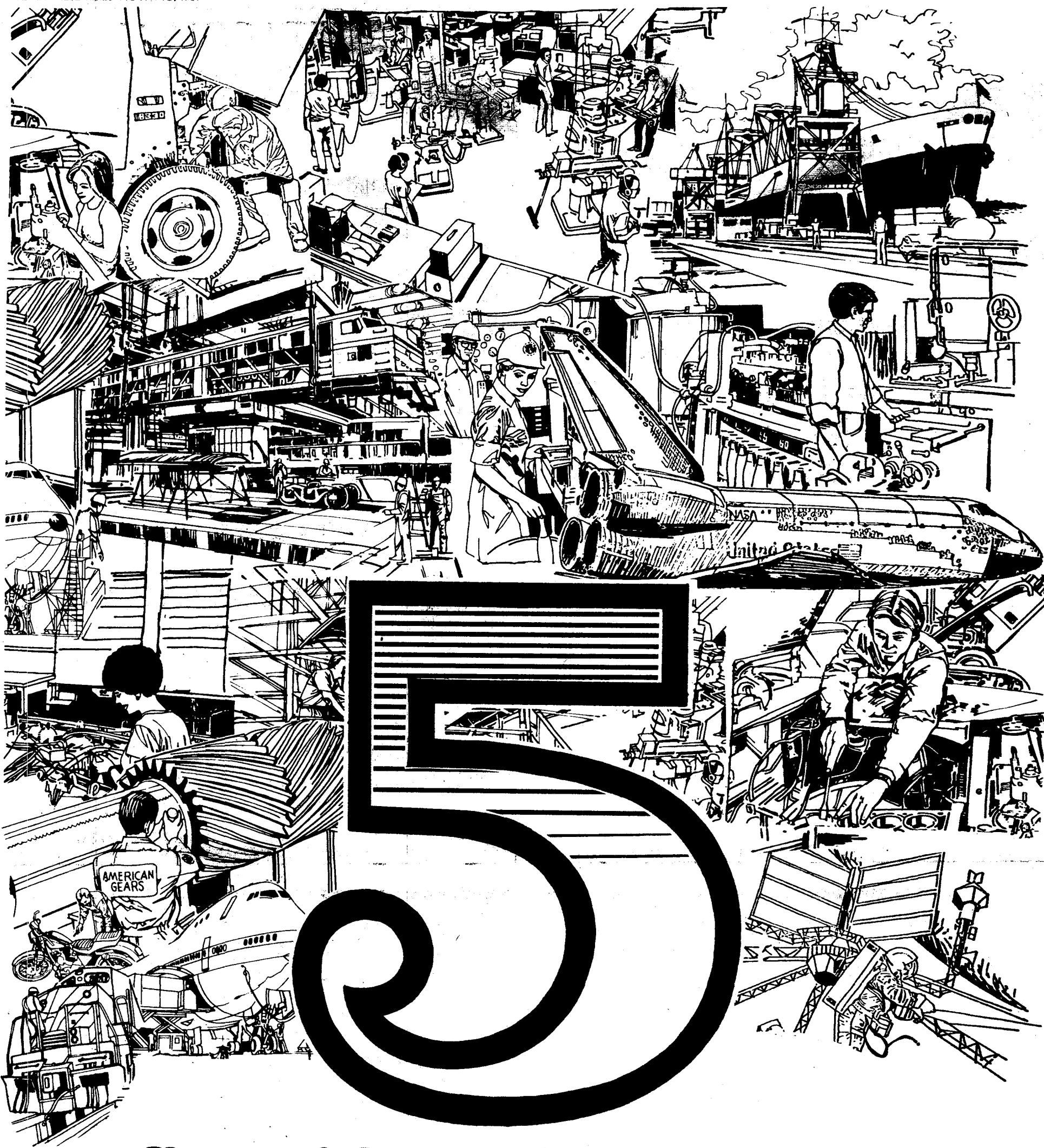
Born only five years ago, *In These Times* has already made its mark as one voice of the democratic American labor movement. In its brief half-decade, it has gained wide acceptance among liberal and progressive forces for its hard-hitting reporting on the social and economic issues that affect workers and their families, the young, the poor, the elderly and the minorities.

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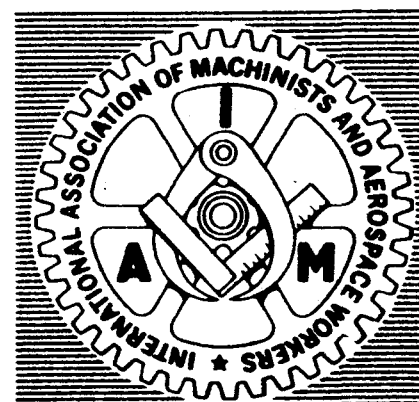
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We in the Machinists Union speak from more than 93 years of experience on behalf of all American and Canadian workers.

We wish for *In These Times* success, perserverance, and long life in the pursuit of the vital common goals.



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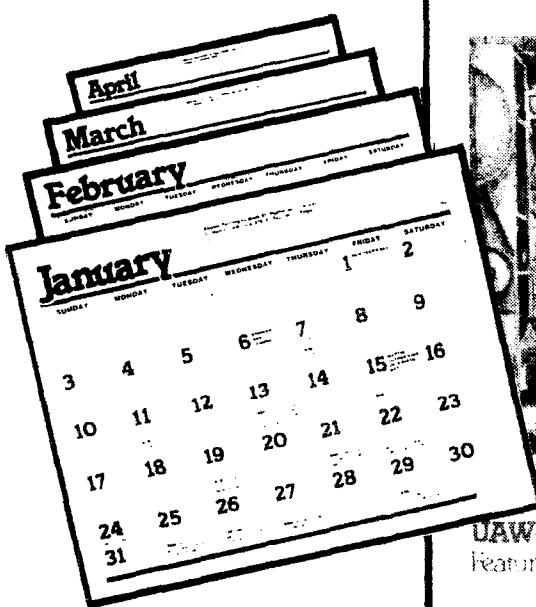
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Month by month, the struggles of labor and its allies are adding new strength to our movement. The big turnouts at Labor Day parades, the massive Solidarity Day demonstration, the growing fight-back movement against Reaganomics, and the fact that a publication like *IN THESE TIMES* is observing its fifth anniversary with ever-growing circulation all are reasons to celebrate.

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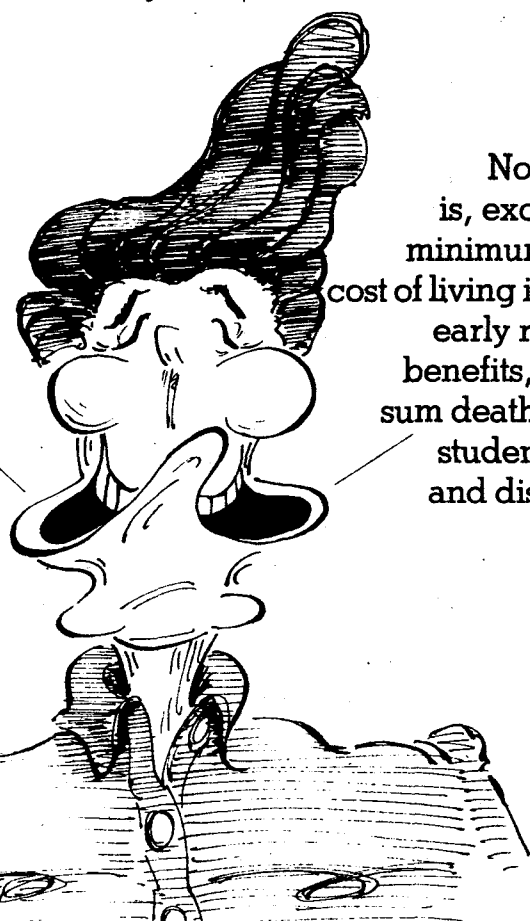
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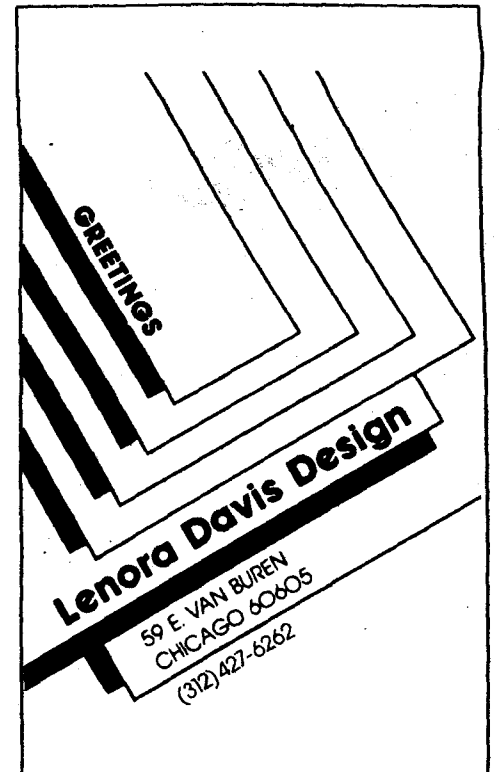
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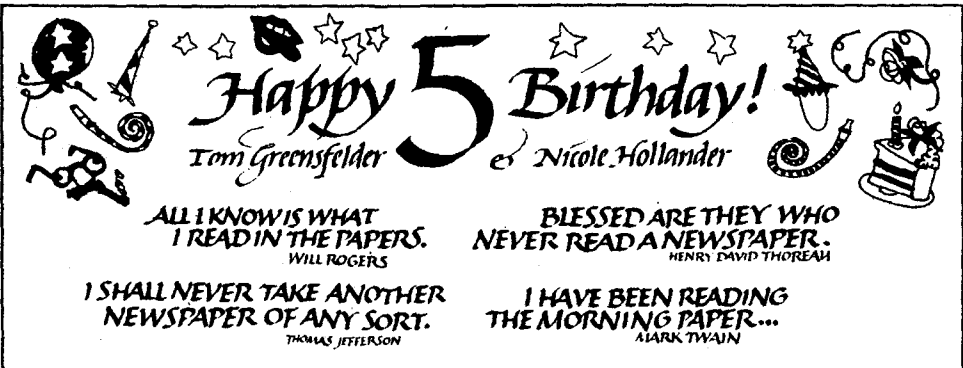
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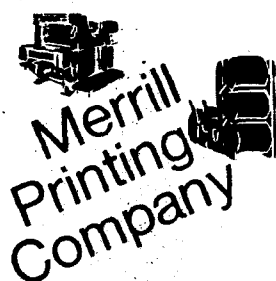
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poured down on them. They came straight from the cradle to science, they came by a circuitous route that resembled a bohemian writer's jacket copy.

What is true for all of them is a shared temperament of mind and spirit that defies analysis of origin but is invariably made substantive in the same way: each of them had wanted to know how the physical world worked, and each of them had found that discovering how things worked through the exercise of her own mental powers gave her an intensity of pleasure and purpose, a sense of reality, nothing else could match. When she put it all together she knew she was a scientist. In each life a different set of circumstances and a different psychological time span was required to put it together. That's all that can be said of who the scientists are, and where they come from.

■ More artist than victim.

What did I think I'd find, and what did I actually find? To state the case quickly: I think I simply set out to document discrimination against women in science. In a profession justly characterized as powerful, authoritarian and pre-eminently male, I expected to find their numbers insignificant, their positions uniformly subordinate, their personalities subdued, their minds safely conservative. I ended by doing a 180 degree turn on that expectation.

I've been deeply moved by the resourcefulness of women in science rather than by their victimization, and amazed by the variety of their personalities, their experience, and their activity. I discovered how passionate an enterprise science is—how like artists scientists are—and that hundreds of women who possessed the driving spirit, the pressing hunger, occupied peripheral, often humiliating positions for 20 and 30 years in order to do science. You could not keep them out of the human enterprise, and because you couldn't keep them out they created a history, left a legacy, had consequences. Together with the contemporary women's movement, they have formed a wedge, making the opening for women in science larger than it ever was before so that today, while the profession, like all professions, is still without anything that resembles parity, nevertheless innumerable women in science are where they belong—in possession of grants, professorships, laboratories—and thousands of young women not only think it perfectly natural that they should become scientists, they consider science a leading contender for their right to a sexy working life.

I thought I'd find most women scientists anti-feminist, as one generally does find the women in a profession whose hierarchy often tyrannizes in the name of "rigor of mind," threatening to hurl into the purgatory of professional contempt those fellow workers who hold unorthodox views or entertain perspectives of thought as yet unendorsed by the intellectual heads of state. Instead, I found very few anti-feminists among the scientists, a surprisingly large number of open feminists, an even larger number of fellow-travellers and not a single scientist in her 30s or 40s who did not acknowledge the influence of the women's movement in her own working life, and on the life of professional science.

■ The pleasures of thinking.

Generally, when a scientist spoke of the difference the women's movement has made in science she was speaking in what we might call "gross" terms—that is, of the increase in grant, tenure and promotions for women, the alterations in hiring practices, awarding of prizes, inclusions in honor societies. What struck me forcibly, though, in the year I spent with the scientist was the subtler way in which feminism and science had begun to flow into each other in these past years.

The women's movement has urged to the surface a latency of mental ability in thousands of women. What was once dormant now seems active: the erratic impulse has become a steady influence. In science I found several women in their 50s who had lived much of their lives as women for whom being a woman is a profession, and then in their maturity had discovered they had scientific talent

and had become scientists. These women embodied a new imperative. One of them expressed it most memorably when she said, "All my life, when I've been asked my opinion, I've said 'I feel...' And so has every other woman I've ever known. And that's all right. We haven't done so badly with 'I feel.' But I went into science because I wanted to be able to say 'I think.'" When I came to know this scientist better I discovered "I wanted to be able to say I think" was a euphemism for "I need to think."

Another scientist, a woman of 54, working class, from the midwest, married at 17, raised six children, went back to school at 40, became a biologist and is now the principal investigator of a laboratory in a hospital attached to a famous medical school in the east. Her husband had been proud and sustaining all the way through, agreeable to their meeting one weekend a month in either her city or his. Then he was transferred to the West Coast, and suddenly their relationship was thrown into question. "I think Dave was surprised when I didn't follow him to California," the scientist said. "And God, I wanted to. I miss him terribly." She fell silent, looked down into her lap, looked up, then very softly she said, "But I can't stop thinking now."

It was through such women that I came to perceive the additive quality of scientific thinking, to see that it feeds something incomparable: a clarity of inner being that once experienced cannot be done without. These women, these older scientists who'd lived whole other lifetimes as the professional lovers of men and children, they knew the value of intimacy in the dalliance of life, they knew the meaning of doing without love, they did not speak idly or in ignorance. But each of them indicated that now, if pushed to the wall, if forced to choose, they'd have to choose science. Science had become their deepest selves. Love, necessary love, was somewhat at a remove. These women had become devoted to experiencing a self characterized by work rather than love, and had begun to construct lives around that devotion.

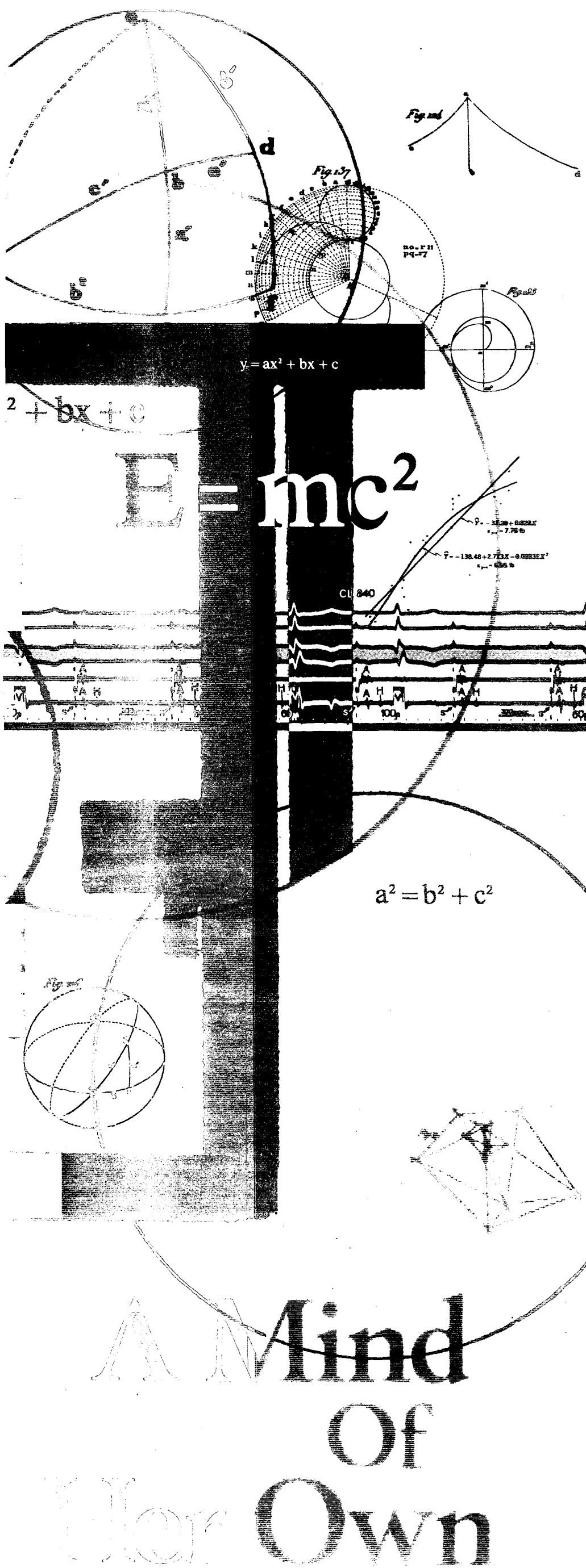
Nearly 50 percent of graduate students in science today are women. Of these 50 percent a very large number are being shaped by the assumption that the training they receive is to be taken seriously, that the life before them is to grow organically around the fact of their being scientists—that this is the norm—unlike the scientists now in their 40s who got Ph.D.s, then let their professional lives shape up around marriage and are the lost generation of women scientists; or the women in their 70s who did what the women in their 20s are now doing but were freaks when they did it, people who occupied a society of one.

For me, contemporary feminism is a piece of consciousness—diffused in its power and influence, unpredictable in its capacity for progress—that cannot be turned back. It is a force of thought and perception—a way of seeing things anew—that lurches unsteadily about, very much like Plato's man emerging from the cave, blinded by the light. It raises its voice in confused belligerence (where the hell am I?), whirls round in frightened anger (you miserable...), lies down in exhaustion (this is too much for me), suddenly gets reasonable, wants a little civilized conversation, again it's in a rage (fuck you, I thought you were my friend, you're just a pig like all the rest of them). But all the while it is accumulating an inner sense of where it is in the world. Slowly, it gains a stronger feel for the surround, figures out which direction to move in, where the light is strongest, the path clearest, learns which plants are poisonous which animals benign, feels itself a creature on the landscape, walking upright, at home in the territory. Who or what can make it turn back, retreat to the cave, lie down in the darkness again? The Republican administration? Ronald Reagan's cutbacks? I ask you. ■ Vivian Gornick, a New York-based writer, was a staff writer for the *Village Voice* for nearly 10 years and has written widely on the Middle East, American radicalism and the contemporary women's movement. She is currently at work on a book about women and science to be published by Simon & Schuster.

one foreign parent, spent their first six years in bed with rheumatic fever or were raised either in the upper class or in the ghetto), I was astonished by the range of backgrounds and personal histories I encountered.

I found scientists who came from Park Avenue, Main Street and Tobacco Road;

from the intellectual elite and the petit bourgeoisie; from parents who were evangelists, actors, lawyers, scientists, tailors, ministers and coal miners; from families where they were neglected, abused and ignored, as well as loved, prized and nourished. Every kind of bleakness and every kind of brilliant light had



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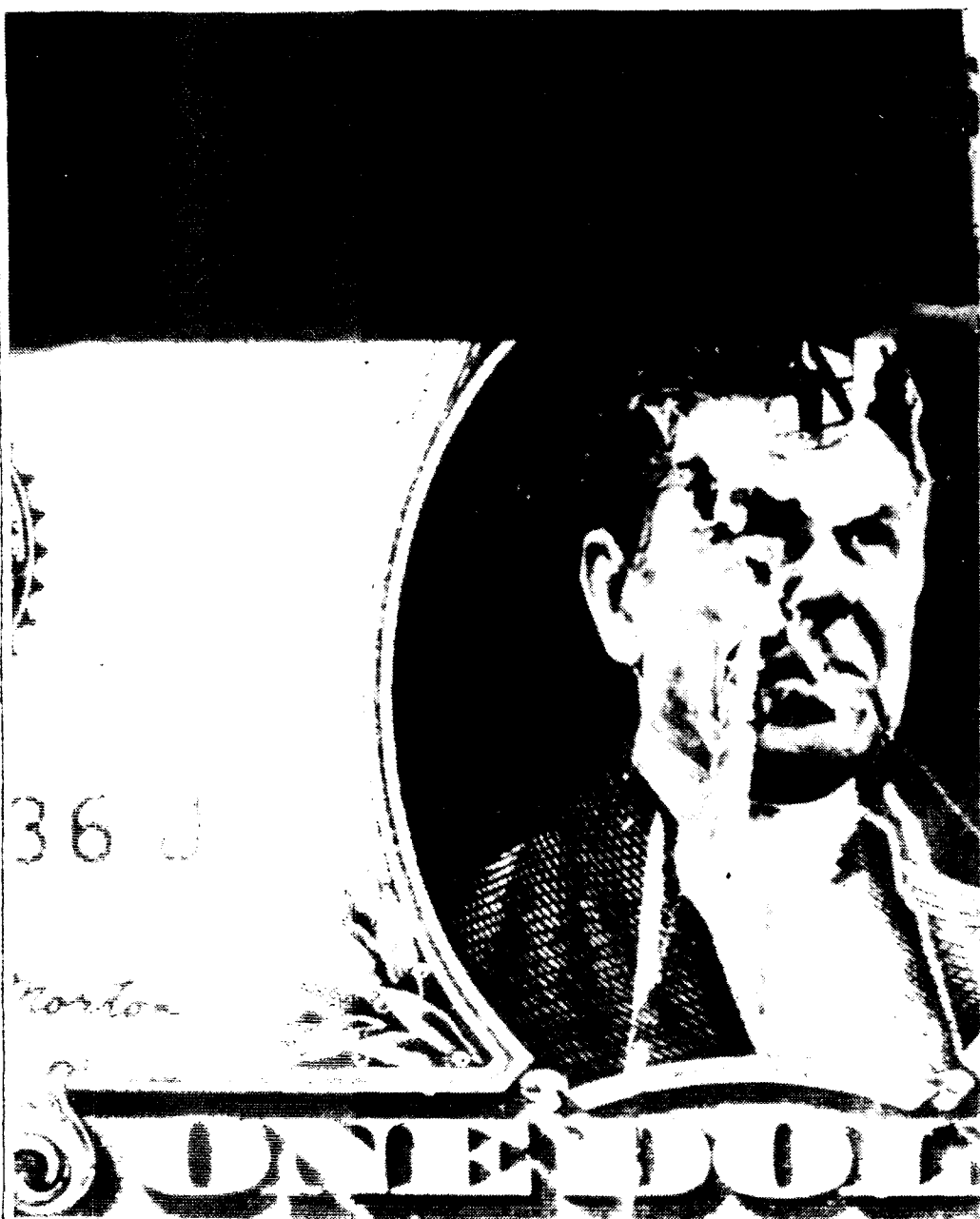
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Herb Petr and Irving Wexler/Political Art Calendar 1982

How Reagan is speeding the American empire's decline

By John Judis

THERE IS LITTLE DISAGREEMENT among Americans that the American economy has declined, both with respect to its past performance and with respect to other capitalist nations, and that this decline has contributed to a general deterioration of the U.S.' position in the world. There are sharp disagreements over what, if anything, to do about this decline, but Ronald Reagan now seems to have a program for revitalizing the U.S.

In the 1980 election, Reagan made the Democrats' responsibility for our decline a central campaign issue. In his acceptance speech at the Republican convention in July, Reagan blamed the country's "disintegrating economy" and "weakened defense" on the Democrats. "They say the United States has had its day in the sun," Reagan said. "I utterly reject that view." And his sweeping victory reflected many Americans' conviction that Reagan, with his promise to restore the free market and sharply increase defense spending, was better qualified than Jimmy Carter to restore the American "place in the sun."

But an examination of the causes of the United States' decline reveals that the measures Reagan proposes are at the root of the problem. His programs are more likely to accelerate the country's decline than to arrest or reverse it.

Why, then, have Americans, includ-

ing the nation's corporate elite, acquiesced in—or even applauded—these programs? Is the country bent on self-destruction? Does a certain madness stalk the halls of Congress, the boardrooms of our corporations, the classrooms of our universities and the shop floors of our factories?

Falling behind.

From the end of World War II until the early '70s, the U.S. was the unchallenged leader of world capitalism. The value of each nation's currency was pegged to the dollar, whose value was fixed at \$35 an ounce of gold. The American standard of living was the world's highest. Its basic manufacturing industry was far more advanced than that of any competitors. And its armed forces, with nuclear weapons, had no peer.

But after 1960, the American position in the world steadily eroded. The U.S. share of world trade dropped 16 percent in the '60s and 23 percent during the '70s. In 1971, the U.S. abandoned the dollar-based Bretton Woods monetary system, and since then, the dollar has declined in value 50 percent against the German mark and 44 percent against the Japanese yen. As of 1979, the U.S. lagged behind Switzerland, Denmark, West Germany, Sweden, Luxembourg, Norway, Belgium, Iceland and France in *per capita* income.

American decline as a world power has been no less dramatic. The Soviet Union overcame the U.S. lead in nuclear weaponry. The American defeat in Vietnam encouraged other less developed countries, including those in OPEC, to defy the U.S. And European allies, bristling under the weight of inflated Eurodollars and poised between militarily equal superpowers, increasingly adopted

His attempt to regain a lost glory through military superiority follows the fatal path of other has-beens.

an independent posture—as seen in the creation of the European Monetary System in 1978 and the Western European refusal to go along with the 1980 American trade boycott of the Soviet Union. American diplomatic decline was epitomized when the virulently anti-American movement that overthrew the Shah of Iran seized American diplomats for hostages and taunted the Carter administration for more than a year.

The economic and diplomatic declines are deeply interrelated, but have independent causes. There are three main reasons why the American economy began to decline: first, American companies became complacent about the need to modernize their domestic production facilities; second, the American government reflected this complacency by acceding to business' immediate needs and neglecting longer-term priorities; and third, American foreign policy goals created a heavy burden on industry.

Industrial complacency.

In contrast with its rivals, the U.S. did not have its industrial base destroyed during World War II. But the Western European countries and Japan rebuilt their industries during the late '40s and the '50s with new post-war technology. Meanwhile, American companies chose not to use their immense profits to renovate their factories. This pattern has

continued through the present.

The *Chicago Tribune* found last year that about 61 percent of the machine tools used in Japan are less than 10 years old, compared to only 31 percent of those in the U.S. The steel industry is one of the worst offenders. As late as 1975, American steelmakers were still relying on open-hearth furnaces built before World War II (or even World War I), while their Japanese and German counterparts were employing the latest oxygen furnaces.

The older technology is less productive. From 1967 to 1973, manufacturing productivity in the U.S. grew annually by 2.9 percent; Japan's productivity grew 10.4 percent, Germany's 5 percent; from 1974 to 1980, with a world slump in effect, U.S. manufacturing productivity grew only 1.6 percent annually, while Japan's increased 4.1 percent and Germany's 5 percent.

Instead of being plowed back into increasing industrial productivity at home, American firms used their profits to invest overseas or to diversify into other sectors, most notably services. The reason was greater short-term profitability.

From 1960 to 1970, domestic investment by American firms increased by 119 percent, while foreign investment increased by 247 percent. British economist Stuart Holland estimates that as

Continued on the following page

The graphic above is reprinted from the Political Art Calendar 1982. Copies are available for \$5.60 from Alliance for Social Change, 519 SW 3, Suite 810, Portland, Ore. 97204, or from Citizens Party, 3525 NE 13 Ave., Portland, Ore. 97212.

Continued from the previous page. of the mid-'70s, the U.S. was producing overseas four times as much as it exported, while Japan and West Germany were both producing overseas only about 40 percent of what they exported. During the '70s, American banks, their vaults swelling with petrodollars from the OPEC countries, invested or loaned their funds overseas. In 1970, foreign loans comprised 17.5 percent of the business of the 10 largest U.S. banks; by 1979, foreign loans comprised 42.6 percent of their business.

When firms used their capital in the U.S., it was most often directed toward the rapidly-growing service sector. From 1969 to 1978, annual investment in machinery, measured in constant dollars, did not increase, while investment in office and accounting equipment increased 120 percent.

The short-sighted state.

The federal government was not simply a passive spectator in that process. It encouraged the foreign use of capital. The Federal Reserve and the Treasury Department, except during the 1968-72 balance of payments crisis, encouraged the export of capital by maintaining the dollar's value high in relation to other currencies. An overvalued dollar made American exports more expensive and Japanese and German imports cheaper, but it also made American purchases of European firms cheaper. Even the small points of the tax code favored multinational expansion. One provision has allowed corporations to pay no taxes on overseas profit that they reinvest overseas.



The state also bowed to the short-sighted pressures of businessmen and corporate economists in their choice of federal spending targets. In the '50s, the U.S. embarked on an ambitious highway program that delighted the auto industry and the suburban developers, while railroad roadbeds were allowed to deteriorate. When oil prices skyrocketed during the '70s, the U.S., dependent largely on trucks and automobiles, and with its cities organized according to the priorities of Standard Oil and General Motors, was much less able than Western Europe or Japan to absorb higher energy costs.

During the late '60s and the '70s, when business and the public began to growl about higher taxes and deficits, the state again acceded to short-sighted advice and began to reduce expenditures on the industrial infrastructure. According to a study by Pat Choate and Susan Walters, public works expenditures declined from \$198 per capita in 1965 to \$140 per capita in 1977. As a percentage of GNP, they declined from 4.1 percent in 1965 to 2.3 percent in 1977. According to Choate and Walters, one out of every five bridges in the U.S. must now be either replaced or renovated, harbor facilities are "unable to service efficiently world shipping coming into American docks," 46 percent of American cities surveyed will have to expand their water-treatment facilities to accommodate new industry, and about a fifth of the nation's dams and a fourth of its highways need major repair.

A deteriorating infrastructure raises the costs of production. An energy-inefficient transportation creates higher prices for goods, which must be shipped from producer to consumer. And it re-

duces workers' standards of living and creates upward pressure on wages. Declining city services discourage plants from expanding and encourage them to locate elsewhere.

There are no comparative figures on how, for instance, Europe's and Japan's more energy-efficient transportation system has kept down their industrial costs, but an estimate of energy saved by Japan's high-speed train that runs from Tokyo to Osaka is indicative. According to Frank Browning, the 100-mile-an-hour *Shinkansen* train carried 124 million passengers in 1977. If these passengers had travelled in automobiles—as they might have in the U.S.—Japan would have consumed an extra 40 million barrels of oil, worth about \$1.2 billion.

Guns and factories.

The most important reason for the precipitous American decline in industrial growth and innovation is the effect of the high rate of defense spending. From 1960 to 1978, the U.S. spent about 7.5 percent of its GNP annually on defense, Japan spent 1 percent, and Germany spent 4 percent. Only slow-growth Britain spent a comparable proportion of its GNP on defense.

Defense spending diverts human and material resources away from civilian production; it requires either deflationary higher taxes or inflationary budget deficits; it creates an unwelcome choice between defense spending and spending on infrastructure and social welfare.

In a recent study, Rep. Les Aspin (D-Wisc.) noted that the U.S., Germany and Japan spend about the same percentage of their GNP on research and development. But in the U.S. the military takes five times the share it takes in Germany, and 14 times the share it takes in Japan. The U.S. continues to have more scientists and engineers per worker than either Germany or Japan, but an estimated 30 to 40 percent of U.S. scientists and engineers, compared to less than 5 percent of their Japanese counterparts, are engaged in defense-related work.

There have been some important "feedbacks" from military to civilian production—communication satellites, for instance. But the absence of feedback has grown increasingly striking. Aspin notes how the U.S. military developed miniaturized video cassette recorders in the late '50s to target guided missiles, but it was the Japanese who saw the civilian potential and cornered the commercial market of the '80s.

The Vietnam war was the central event in American economic decline. Inflation, caused by growing deficits and bottlenecks, grew from 1 percent in 1961 to 5.9 percent in 1970. And the overheated American economy provided the impetus for Japan and Germany's swift rise. From 1967 to 1970, Japan increased its share of world trade by one-third, "in large part," according to Joyce Kolko, because of the preoccupations and diversionary military orders that were distracting the American corporations from meeting consumer demand or competing in world markets.

During the Vietnam war decade, the steep American decline began. From 1960 to 1970, American automobile companies' share of the domestic market fell from 95.9 to 82.8 percent; steel dropped from 95.8 to 85.7 percent; textiles from 93.4 to 67.1 percent; and calculating and adding machines from 95 to 63.8 percent. In 1971, the U.S. registered its first balance of trade deficit of the 20th century.

Alliance in disarray.

The economic and diplomatic decline of the U.S. have gone hand in hand. The U.S. attempt to sustain the Western alliance, which required the maintenance of a dollar "good as gold" and the prevention of socialist revolution in Europe and the less developed countries, undermined its economy. No other country besides the U.S. could have shouldered the Western defense burden. German or Japanese rearmament with nuclear weapons would have frightened allies in the West as much as adversaries in the East. As long as the alliance's objective was to keep third world markets open to raw material exploitation and direct investment, the U.S.

The diversion of investment from essential infrastructure to armaments has cost dearly.

has had to spend much of its GNP on defense.

Conversely, the American economic decline clearly removed an important prop from under the Western Alliance. In the late '40s and the '50s, European expansion was based on American trade, investment, loans and the use of the dollar. It was not then in the interest of Europe or Japan to diverge from the American development strategy. But in the '60s, relations among the countries began to change dramatically. In 1960, the U.S. was Germany's leading trading partner; by 1970, it had dropped to third place, and by 1979 to sixth. The European internal market and the OPEC countries each accounted for more German trade, while the most rapidly expanding part of Germany's trade was with Eastern bloc countries. From 1970 to 1979, Germany's trade with the East tripled. Germany became the Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries' leading trading partner. (The Soviet Union's second leading trading partner was Japan.)

Both Western Europe and Japan have also expanded their influence in the third world. Japan now has more direct investment in Brazil than does the U.S.

The American decline relative to Western Europe and Japan has fuelled growing political differences. European bankers, fed up with inflated American dollars, played almost as important a role as the North Vietnamese army in forcing the U.S. in 1968 to resign itself to a strategy of "peace with honor" rather than "victory." European-American rivalries in the Mideast prevented a unified response to the OPEC nationalizations. Less developed countries have been able to extract greater concessions from the West by playing European, Japanese and U.S. multinationals against each other. And the growing European and Japanese trade links with the East, combined with growing Soviet military strength, has eroded support for the revived Cold War.

At the risk of over-simplification, one can describe American foreign policy woes as a vicious circle. Growing Soviet military strength and growing sentiment for economic and political independence in the third world has encouraged the American resort to arms and to rising arms budgets. Rising arms budgets and wars have imperilled the American economy, which has created new strains in the Western alliance, and has given impetus to independent European and Japanese initiatives toward the Soviet bloc and the third world. Growing American isolation has convinced policymakers that their only recourse is expanded defense budgets and a harder line toward the Soviet Union and the third world, which has in turn helped further to isolate the U.S. and to fragment the Western alliance.

Carter vs. Reagan.

During the '70s, there was considerable debate among policymakers about how to respond to the American decline. The left wing of the Democratic Party argued that the U.S. should escape the vicious circle: The U.S. should reduce military spending, withdraw its troops from Western Europe and Asia, expand arms control agreements with the Soviet Union and conserve energy to reduce American dependence on the Mideast. It was assumed that as the less developed nations became apprised of American democratic intentions and economic resources, they would eventually, whatever their current political stripe, become strong American and Western allies.

As for the American economy, Democrats like Senators George McGovern and Edward Kennedy called for greater government planning of investment and resource use, wage-price controls rather than recessions as the means to dampen inflation, and redistributive tax reform to create revenues needed to sustain social spending.

The opposing faction, identified most closely with the Republicans, but including many Democrats, argued for a return to the Cold War. They wanted to increase arms spending, to restore the American lead over the Soviet Union and to reassert American ability to intervene in third world countries opposed to the West.

On economic issues, the new Cold Warriors favored tax cuts to create more potential investment funds for corporations and the rich, tight recessionary monetary policies and sharp reductions in social spending, both to discipline labor and to prevent enormous inflationary budget deficits from the arms spending and tax cuts.

Corporate opposition and public indifference doomed the left-wing alternative, but during the first years of the Carter administration, there were several contradictory thrusts, centered in the State Department. A vigorous Cold War lobby both inside and outside the administration finally won Carter over by portraying the Nicaraguan and Iranian revolutions as administration defeats.

Carter's 1979 budget, which included major reductions in social spending and a 3 percent real increase in military spending, signalled surrender to the Republican strategy. But Carter was reluctant, begrudging and incomplete. He retained vestiges of left Democratic commitments to détente and human rights, and his party's concessions to the poor and unemployed.

What Carter accepted unenthusiastically, Reagan embraced with gusto. Ronald Reagan made a return to the free market of the '20s and the Cold War of the '50s the centerpieces of his campaign. And as President, he has unabashedly called for tax cuts for corporations and the wealthy, massive reductions in social spending, tight money, a huge increase in defense spending, and a hard line against liberation movements in the third world.

Long-term disaster.

In almost every respect, Reagan's policies, intended to restore American supremacy, will condemn the U.S. to more rapid decline in the '80s. Probably the most damaging part of Reagan's economic program is the increased defense spending. Reagan's projected military buildup for 1981 to 1986 is 25 percent larger than the escalation in Vietnam in the years from 1965 to 1968. It would raise the percentage of GNP devoted to defense from 5.7 to 8.1 percent. No matter how it is financed, it will be inflationary, as the armaments sectors are already operating at high capacity, and there is a shortage of skilled labor and technicians. With deficits expected, Treasury borrowing for defense costs will compete with private borrowing and drive interest rates up. And defense spending will continue to divert talent from civilian to military production.

To discipline labor and hold down the deficits caused by arms spending and tax cuts, Reagan has also pushed through reductions in social spending. A considerable number are aimed at reducing federal spending on industrial infrastructure. For instance, the Reagan budget called for a one-third reduction in funds for energy conservation and for the development of alternative fuel sources (solar energy was cut 60 percent); funds for highways and mass transit were cut 13 percent; funds for passenger railroads were cut 40 percent, freight railroads 20 percent; funds for sewer construction were reduced by 30 percent; and funds for scientific research were, in some cases, cut 100 percent.

These spending reductions have won Reagan some kudos from the most narrowly self-interested business leaders obsessed with balancing the budget, but they will have a uniformly deleterious ef-

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False prophet of anti-Islam

Among the Believers: An Islamic Journey
V.S. Naipaul
Knopf, 399 pp., \$15

By Edward W. Said

Naipaul the writer now flows directly into Naipaul the social phenomenon, the celebrated sensibility on tour, abhorring the post-colonial world for its lies, its mediocrity, cruelty, violence and maudlin self-indulgence. Naipaul, demystifier of the West, crying over the spilt milk of colonialism.

The writer of travel journalism—unencumbered with much knowledge or information, and not much interested in imparting any—is a stiff, mostly silent presence in this book, which is the record of a visit in 1979-80 to Iran, Pakistan, Malaysia and Indonesia. What he sees he says because it happens before him and more important, because it confirms what, except for an occasionally eye-catching detail, he already knows.

He does not learn. They prove. Prove what? That the "retreat" to Islam is "arupofaction" in Malaysia Naipaul is asked, "What is the purpose of your writing? Is it to tell people what it's all about?" He replies, "Yes. I would say comprehension." "Is it not for money?" "Yes. But the nature of the work is important."

Thus Naipaul travels and writes about it because it is important, not because he likes doing it. There is very little pleasure and only a bit more affection recorded in this book. Its funny moments are at the expense of Muslims, wogs after all, who cannot spell, be coherent, sound right to a wordy-wise, somewhat jaded judge from the West. Every time they show their Islamic weaknesses, Naipaul the phenomenon appears promptly.

A Muslim lapse occurs, some puerile resentment is expressed, and then, *ex cathedra*, we are given a passage like this:

Khomeini required only faith. But he also knew the value of Iran's oil to countries that lived by machines, and he could send the Phantoms and the tanks against the Kurds. Interpreter of the faithful, he expressed all the confusion of his people and made it appear like glory, like the familiar faith: the confusion of a people of high medieval culture awakening to oil and money, a sense of power and violation and a knowledge of a great new encircling civilization. It was to be rejected; at the same time it was to be depended on.

Remember that last sentence and a half, for it is Naipaul's thesis as well as the platform from which he addresses the world: The West is the world of knowledge, criticism, technical know-how and functioning institutions, Islam its fearfully enraged and retarded dependent, awakening to a new, barely com-

trollable power. The West provides Islam with good things from the outside, because "the life that had come to Islam had not come from within." Thus the existence of 800 million people is summed up in a phrase and dismissed. Islam's flaw was at "its origins—the flaw that ran right through Islamic history: To the political issues it raised it offered no political or practical solution. It offered only the faith. It offered only the Prophet, who would settle everything—but who had ceased to exist. This political Islam was rage, anarchy."

Belated Kipling.

After such knowledge what forgiveness? Very little obviously. The Islamic characters encountered by Naipaul—those half-educated schoolteachers, journalists, sometime revolutionaries, bureaucrats and religious fanatics—exude little charm and arouse scant interest or compassion. One, yes, one person only, an Indonesian poet, suggests some nobility and intelligence. Carefully set and dramatized, Naipaul's descriptions tend to slide away from the specific into the general. Each chapter ends with some bit of sentimentousness, but just before the end there comes a dutiful squeezing out of Meaning, as if the author could no longer let his characters exist without some appended commentary that aligns things clearly under the Islam/West polarity. Conversation made in a Kuala Lumpur hotel in the company of two young Muslims and a book left by one of them with Naipaul are suddenly instances of "Islam" (uncritical, uncreative) and the "West" (creative, critical).

It is not just that Naipaul carries with him a kind of half-stated but finally unexamined reverence for the colonial order. That attitude has it that the old days were better, when Europe ruled the coloreds and allowed them few silly pretensions about pur-

instance, "One Out of Many," a deft story published in *In a Free State* (1971). At the end Santosh, the Bombayan immigrant to Washington, watches the city burn. It is 1968; blacks run amuck and, to Santosh's surprise, one of them scrawls *Soul Brother* on the pavement outside his house. "Brother to what or to whom?" Santosh muses. "I was once part of the flow, never thinking of myself as a presence. Then I looked in the mirror and decided to be free. All that my freedom has brought me is the knowledge that I have a face and have a body, that I must feed this body and clothe this body for a certain number of years. Then it will be over."

Disavowal of that admittedly excited community of '60s revolutionaries is where it begins. Then seeing oneself free of illusion is a gain in awareness, but it also means emptying out one's historical identity. The next step is to proceed through life with a minimum number of attachments: do not overload the mind. Keep it away from history and causes; feel and wait. Record what you see according-

did it, *Newsweek* did it, *The Guardian* and *The New York Times* did it. Naipaul wouldn't make a trip to Israel, for example, which is not to say that he wouldn't find rabbinical laws governing daily behavior any less repressive than Khomeini's. No: his audience knows Israel is OK, "Islam" not. And one more thing. If it is criticism that the West stands for, good—we want Naipaul to criticize those mad mullahs, vacant Islamic students, cliché-ridden revolutionaries.

But does he write *for* or *to* them? Does he live among them, risk their direct retaliation, write in their presence, so to speak, and does he, like Socrates, live through the consequences of his criticism? Not at all. No dialogue. He snipes at them from the *Atlantic Monthly*, where none of them can ever get back at him.

What is the result? Never mind the ridiculous misinformation (on page 12, for example, he speaks absurdly of loyalty to the fourth imam as responsible for the Shia Iranian "divergence") and the potted history. The characters barely come alive. The de-

ment. Doubtless he hasn't dreamed of the possibility that the very same *Hajja Baba* by James Morier that he quotes to assert the fanatical religious gullibility of Iranians, was translated into Iranian early in this century by Mirza Habib Esfahani and in this version, according to Professor Keddie, the book is more critical of "Iran's faults than the original."

Little of what took place in 1979 is mentioned here. Naipaul's method is to attack Islamic politics without taking account of what its main currents and events are. In Pakistan Zia's much-resented, much-resisted assault (with U.S. help) on Pakistani civil society is nearly invisible to Naipaul. Indonesian history is the Japanese occupation, the killing of "the communists" in 1965, and the present. The massacres of East Timor are effaced. Iran is portrayed as a country in the grip of hysteria. You would not know from Naipaul that a tremendous post-revolutionary battle occurring while he was there, continues to go on.

All this goes to promote an attitude of distant concern and moral superiority in the reader.



Naipaul sets free his superego on places that his liberal constituents won't stick up for.

ity, independence and new ways. It is a view declared openly by many people. Naipaul is one of them, except that he is better able than most to express the view. He is a kind of belated Kipling.

What is worse is that this East/West dichotomy covers up a deep emptiness in Naipaul the writer, and for which Naipaul the social phenomenon is making others pay, even as a whole train of his present admirers applauds his candor, his telling-it-like-it-is about that third world which he comprehends "better" than anyone else.

One can trace the emptiness back a few years. Consider, for

ly, and cultivate moral passions. **Not OK.**

The trouble is that a relatively mind-free body gave birth to an astonishingly assertive superego. Unrestrained by genuine learning or self-education, this persona—Naipaul the ex-novelist—tours the vulnerable parts of his past, the colonial world he has been telling us about via his acquired British identity. But the places he visits are carefully chosen. They are absolutely safe, places no one in the liberal culture that has made him its darling will speak up for.

Everyone knows Islam is a "place" you must criticize. *Time*

descriptions are lackadaisical, painfully slow, repetitious. The landscapes are half-hearted. Without the languages, he talks to the odd characters who happen by. He makes them directly representative of "Islam," covering his ignorance with no appreciable respect for history. On the first page we are told that Sadeq "was the kind of man who, without political doctrine, only with resentments, had made the Iranian revolution."

An unacceptable exaggeration. Millions of Iranians, not just the Sadeqs and the Khomeinis, but the Shariatis, Taleqanis, Barahenis, and many many more poets, clerics, philosophers, doctors, soldiers—they made the revolution. All one has to do is to look at Nikki Keddie's *Roots of Revolution: An Interpretive History of Modern Iran* (Yale, 1981) to find out what doctrines and persons made the revolution. But no, Naipaul petulantly says, it was just resent-

Despite its veneer of personal impressionism, this is a political book in intention. On one level Naipaul is the late 20th-century heir of Henry MacKenzie, who in *The Man of Feeling* (1771) averred that "every noble feeling rises within me! every beat of my heart awakens a virtue!—but it will make you hate the world! No...I can hate nothing; but as to the world—I pity the men of it."

That these men happen to be brown or black is no inconvenience on another level. They are to be flogged for not being Europeans, and if this is a political pastime useless to them, it is eminently useful for anyone plotting to use Rapid Deployment Forces against "Islam." But Naipaul isn't a politician. He's just a writer.

Edward W. Said is professor of English at Columbia University and author, most recently of *Covering Islam*.

CIVIL RIGHTS



Why the FBI spied on King

The FBI and Martin Luther King, Jr.

By David Garrow
Norton, 311 pp., \$15.95

By Chuck Fager

This book is as important for what it is as for what it says. Among other things, it is an indication of just how much we stand to lose if the current congressional and administration assaults on the First Amendment and the Freedom of Information Act are successful. It has already been the target of Bureau attempts at suppression, including possible bribe offers and veiled threats of legal action.

What it says is that the FBI unleashed and unexamined is a very dangerous institution. What it also says, for the first time candidly, is that Dr. Martin Luther King's personal vices played into the worst aspects of the FBI's bureaucratic pathologies, with tragic results both for him and for the civil rights movement.

No wonder that the first printing of more than 20,000 copies is already gone. Garrow and Nor-

ton may even have one of that rare species, a scholarly best-seller, on their hands.

David Garrow is not an activist or a reporter but a scholar, with a Duke Ph.D. and a string of fellowships to prove it. He is young-looking, mild-mannered and normally occupied with the teaching grind of a junior faculty member in the political science department at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. His major scholarly project, an analytical chronicle of Dr. King's career, is, he says, to be published by Yale University Press in 1983. His first book, *Protest at Selma*, looked at another aspect of the same subject. His research came inevitably to consider the FBI's role, because the Bureau was almost a constant in Dr. King's life, at least for his last seven years.

Garrow wandered down trails of evidence and interviews that led to the book's sensational disclosures of the identities of several longtime FBI and CIA secret agents. These include two brothers, Jack and Morris Childs, who made up the FBI's most prized and closely guarded

source of information in the Communist Party in the past quarter century.

It was in hopes of preventing these disclosures that the FBI tried to stop publication of the book. During the last 12 months Garrow was repeatedly visited by FBI counterintelligence agents, one of who asked him whether he would be willing to forget about the book for \$100,000. Garrow says his only response was a guffaw, whereupon the agent upped the figure to \$250,000. When Garrow kept laughing, the suggestion was dropped. More recently, the FBI sent agent Michael Steinbeck, a Headquarters Counterintelligence Unit chief, down to Chapel Hill to try again. Steinbeck pointed out to Garrow that under the provisions of the Intelligence Identities Protection Act, now in Congress and expected to pass, his disclosure of "Solo" Childs and the others would constitute a felony worth a big fine and up to five years behind bars. (The FBI has refused comment on these assertions.)

Since this proposal is not yet law, however, Garrow was not

deterred. He is now amused at reports from Washington book-sellers that the Bureau has since bought about 400 copies. But he is keenly aware of the impact that the Intelligence Identities bill could have on his and other future work, calling it "a major impediment to all serious scholarly work concerning the FBI and the CIA."

The proposal to exempt these agencies from the Freedom of Information Act, also before Congress with administration support, would make such works as his simply impossible. Garrow interviewed a pack of former FBI agents, to flesh out and make sense of the often heavily censored files he got from the Bureau. But, he said, "you can't write something solid on a source like Solo without the files to back it up. Without them you're just depending on the memories of 20 old guys, and that's not enough." He also points out that not many scholarly analyses of the FBI have yet been done. Most books are either journalistic accounts based on more limited data, or memoirs, friendly and unfriendly, by former

agents. Garrow believes there are plenty of other stories like those of the FBI's work against King waiting to be chronicled, analyzed and understood.

The paranoid spy.

It is *understanding*, after all, that Garrow is really about. Solo and the other disclosures, useful as they are in selling books, are incidental to this purpose. *Why*, he is asking, did the FBI develop such a fixation with spying on and trying to destroy Dr. King? What accounts for the shifting focus of this attention, from supposed communist influences on King in 1962-63, to a determination to "expose" his extracur-

FBI agents tried to bribe the author into dropping his research.

cular sex activities in 1964-65, to concern over his increasingly radical politics in the last two years of his life?

Garrow believes that the personal passions of Hoover and his close aides and the structure of the Bureau, while significant, do not fully explain the agency's vendetta against King and other dissidents. Instead, he argues that the FBI embodies and represents what historian Richard Hofstadter identified as "the paranoid style in American politics," a deep-rooted and recurring strain of hostility to people whose race, behavior patterns or political views challenge conventional norms.

Garrow says that "the Bureau actually was more a reflection of American beliefs and society than it was either the product of idiosyncratic individuals or a unique institutional structure.... American popular thought long has had strong themes of nativism, xenophobia and ethnocentrism. These very same qualities were writ large in the FBI." He quotes Harvard's James Q. Wilson, one of the few other scholars who has looked closely at the bureau, as affirming that "throughout virtually all of Hoover's administration, the mission of the FBI was fully consistent with public expectations, beliefs, and values." (This analysis is in my view further corroborated by Ronald Reagan's swift pardon of the FBI agents convicted of doing a black bag job on Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist.)

King, Garrow argues further, went against this conventional grain on all three major points. The FBI first began intensive surveillance of his activities because of his friendship with the late Stanley Levison, a white New York businessman. The Bureau regarded Levison as a "communist influence" on King and tapped the New Yorker's phone for years. Garrow, however, exhaustively reviewed summaries of hundreds of bugged conversations between Levison and King, during which Levison rarely sounded much more radical than, say, George McGovern in 1972.

Yet there was a basis for the Bureau's concern, Garrow discovered. In the early 1950s, he writes, Levison had been deeply involved in the affairs of the American Communist Party, to the point of participating in the financial transactions involving a secret Soviet subsidy to its U.S.

subsidiary. But Levison abruptly dropped out of Party activities around 1955, before he became friends with King. Thereafter he steadfastly denied to anyone who asked ever having had any such connections. This included King, who inquired after being warned by both Robert and John Kennedy that Levison was a person of "subversive" associations. Levison lied to King, Garrison says, as he lied to others. Since the FBI's information about Levison's communist activities was all gathered through Solo, the Bureau and the Kennedys refused to offer King any evidence to back up their charges against Levison, in order to protect their source. But without evidence, King chose to believe his friend over the Bureau and the Kennedys.

Later, however, Dr. King's own views and programs became more radical. He came out strongly against the Vietnam war, he spoke more often of the need for "revolutionary" change in American society if justice and equality for blacks were to be established. His last planned series of demonstrations, the Poor Peoples Campaign in the summer of 1968, was intended to go beyond earlier efforts both in its demands and the level of disruptive tactics. The FBI, without forgetting Levison, monitored this evolution and sent a steady stream of reports about it to the increasingly besieged Johnson White House.

"Lively episodes."

But it was King's sexual activities that provoked the most intense FBI reaction, and moved the Bureau to its repeated efforts to destroy King, both personally and professionally. The nadir of this campaign came in December 1964, as King was on his way to Norway to accept the Nobel Peace Prize. It was a package sent to him anonymously, containing a tape of "highlights" from various of his escapades as recorded by hidden microphones, plus an unsigned letter written by the late William Sullivan, then Assistant Director. These excerpts make chilling reading even 17 years later:

King, in view of your low grade...I will not dignify your name with either a Mr. or a Reverend or a Doctor.... King, look into your heart. You know you are a complete fraud and a great liability to all of us Negroes.... King, like all frauds your end is approaching. Your 'honorary' degrees, your Nobel Prize (what a grin face) and other awards will not save you. King, I repeat, you are done.... The American public, the church organizations that have been helping...will know you for what you are—an evil, abnormal beast. So will others who have backed you. You are done.

King, there is only one thing left for you to do. You know what it is.... You are done. There is but one way out for you. You better take it before your filthy, abnormal, fraudulent self is bared to the nation.

But contrary to Sullivan's expectations, the package did not lead King to commit suicide. It did not even break up his marriage, though he and Mrs. King apparently listened to the tape together. But it did send King into a deep depression, and feelings of guilt over what he interpreted as "a warning from God." Once he recovered, however, he resumed his pursuit of what Garrow rather elliptically calls "lively episodes" with as much abandon as before.

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WOMEN

Panorama of feminism

Woman's Worth: Sexual Economics and the World of Women

By Lisa Leghorn and Katherine Parker
Routledge & Kegan Paul, 356 pp., \$24.95 hardcover; \$12.95 paper

Subject Women: Where Women Stand Today—Politically, Economically, Socially, Emotionally

By Ann Oakley
Pantheon Books, 406 pp., \$17.95 hardcover; \$7.95 paper

By Annette Kolodny

At a time when many of the policies associated with Reagan-

makes clear, despite the illusion of slow but steady improvement in countries like England and the U.S.—in the courts, in education and through legislation—English and American women have made only sporadic, erratic progress toward achieving equality with men.

It is difficult to read either book and come away optimistic about any improvement in the status of women, at home or abroad. It is equally difficult to come away without a renewed sense of the sanity of such a course. One might quibble, for example, with the naivete informing Leghorn's and Parker's speculative, utopian vision of "a consciously female-val-

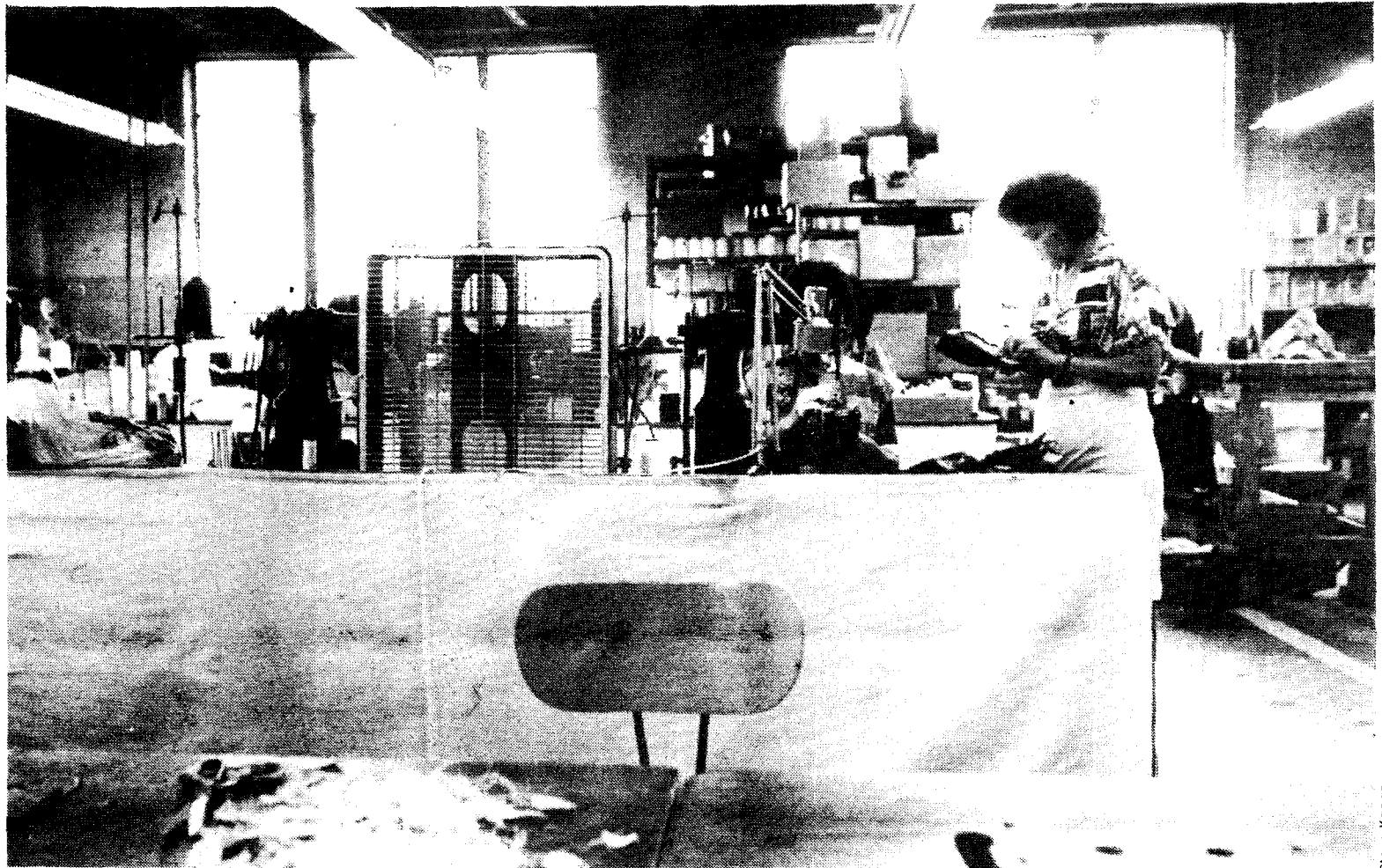
male sexism that can be held solely responsible for the emergence of subversive feminist movements." For her, the two are always "linked." Therefore, Oakley argues, it is feminism's peculiar challenge to understand the many-faceted linkages between institutionalized, systemic oppression and individual behavior or attitudes in any culture or society.

Feminist fictions.

Even so—and unlike Leghorn and Parker—Oakley shies away from contemplating the new society such change might generate. All she will assert is that the rise of women "demands a new language

can. To my mind, this is a strange way for an otherwise astute European social theorist to end a book about contemporary Euro-American feminism.

Besetting both books are infelicities of style and the lack of depth that comes from attempting any panoramic overview. (The full title of Oakley's book gives some indication of just how much she has attempted to put between two covers.) The pursuit of comprehensiveness also leads to a diffusion of central focus. This is particularly true of *Subject Women*, where the reader is often hard-pressed to determine if Oakley has any central organizing thesis. *Women's Work* maintains a clearer focus throughout. But even here analysis gets lost amid a welter of (often fascinating) anecdotes from Morocco or India, or work songs from African tribal women. Each, however, offers a valuable and accessible introduction to economic, political, social and personal issues now being



Steve Kogan

Exploitation of women's work is an international phenomenon.

omics threaten to decrease women's participation in the nation's paid workforce, *Woman's Worth* demystifies economic theory by making two simple points: Whatever the cultural milieu or official economic system, women's work—whether paid or unpaid—contributes significantly to the "product" and "value" of any society, but "women rarely benefit [from] or share in the wealth they have produced."

And at a time when the fragile gains of the last dozen years of the American women's movement are being eroded, *Subject Women* reminds us that even the most advanced of the European feminist theorists still look to America, both as a repository of research and as a laboratory for strategy and method.

Read together, the books are at once sobering and frightening. Sobering because, as Leghorn and Parker indicate in their cross-cultural perspective, the exploitation of women's labor is a pervasive and virtually unquestioned phenomenon all across the world. And frightening because, as Oakley

ue-centered" economic organization. There is insufficient evidence to accept their notion that women from different cultures share similar values, such as anti-war or conservationist sentiments. Nonetheless, the closing section on "The Economy of the World of Women" at least posits an attractive and survival-oriented range of alternatives "toward a fundamentally transformed...world" and, no less important, it offers a spectrum of tried and workable strategies for initiating such change.

Oakley's study by contrast eschews programs for change or ideological guidebooks for defining (and doing away with) the evils of patriarchy. Instead, she ends by insisting that we comprehend the complexity implied by the questions, "How are women oppressed?" and "Are women oppressed?" These questions, she persuasively argues, "have different and ambiguous answers depending on where you are looking at that particular moment. Both men, in the guise of husbands, fathers and breadwinners, and capitalism, in the sense of a mode of production that gives rise to a certain division of class interests, can be held responsible for the habit of according women a second-class status. Because men can be individualized whereas capitalism can't be, men are the more immediately blameable of the two enemies." "Yet in communist countries," she continues, "it is neither the simple failure to realize the full flowering of the classless society, nor an abundance of unadulterated

and new structures of thought to gestate a completely different society." That "different society," however, "exists at the margins of our imagination," and to approach it, Oakley swerves from data and analysis to "fiction." Her closing paragraphs comprise a brief survey of recent feminist science fiction by Joanna Russ,

debated within the international women's movement.

Of the two, Oakley's is the more original work, stamped by the personality and sociological research interests of the author, but nonetheless making excellent use of work by other feminists in a variety of fields. Leghorn and Parker are more derivative, eclectic



Peggy McMahon

Oakley takes heart from feminist science fiction such as that of Marge Piercy.

Ursula LeGuin and Marge Piercy.

The problem, of course, is that none of these writers—despite their other excellences—point to realistic solutions to pressing and immediate problems. As a result the prospects for change, in Oakley, are equated with a leap of the imagination into the fantasy of a possible future. It is a bold demand for imaginative vision within the women's movement but, at the same time, a disappointing prognosis. Equally unexpected is the fact that all three science fiction writers are Ameri-

tically drawing together the work of economists, anthropologists, poets and novelists. Feminist analysis has always used the work of other women, declaring itself a communal enterprise. The footnotes of Leghorn and Parker and the bibliography of Oakley testify to the wealth of work already done. These books also indicate that much more yet remains to be done.

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ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

POPULAR MUSIC

Diaspora of the drum

By Bruce Dancis

Roots.

Joni Haastrup & the Afrikans haven't yet reached the Keystone Berkeley stage, but their show has already begun. Nine men walk in a line through the crowd, chanting, slapping drums, shaking maracas and *sekere*, making the traditional rhythms of West Africa. The rhythms continue when they climb up on the stage, but now some band members are picking up or sitting behind musical instruments that are associated with a decidedly different culture—electric guitar and bass, synthesizer and electric piano, trumpet, saxophone and a modern rock drum kit.

The music that ensues is startlingly distinctive, yet at the same time irresistibly danceable and filled with familiar reference points. African polyrhythms remain at the music's core, but under the skilled leadership of Haastrup—who sings, dances and performs on a variety of drums and percussive instruments—the band easily incorporates elements from reggae, calypso, jazz, rock, funk and Afro-Latin music, as well as the modern West African sounds of highlife and Afrobeat.

At a time when Western musicians as diverse as Herbie Hancock, Talking Heads and Mick Fleetwood are exploring African music, Haastrup is tracing the evolution of the music from his birthplace, Nigeria, to the music created by Africans spread all over the world by the slave trade. He calls his music "Afro-root."

Joni Haastrup's personal history is nearly as remarkable as his musical project. Haastrup was born in Nigeria in 1947, growing up as a prince in a royal family. "My ancestors originally came from Ife, which, according to the history that I know, was the first city in West Africa and said to be one of the first cities in the world." His great-grandfather was a king, and Haastrup was raised in a palace. As a youngster, he was taught traditional music and dance, learning from the drummers and dancers who often entertained the palace, and he sang in a church choir.

Haastrup's first exposure to Western music occurred in the late '50s, when records by artists such as Sam Cooke came into Nigeria via England. As a teenager, he broke with family tradition by leaving the palace and joining a traditional dance troupe. In 1963, when the Beatles were helping to spread rock music throughout the world, Haastrup formed his first rock band.

Although electric instruments had been introduced in Nigeria during the late '40s or early '50s, Haastrup remembers that he "was one of the few boys in the country who was then inquisitive enough to get involved with Western music. I could locate in Western music a lot of rhythms that sounded like what I understood traditionally, rhythmically. This really attracted me, like

some of the things that Chuck Berry was doing. I felt that this music must have evolved from here, from what I was doing at that time, which was traditional."

Wide exposure.

By 1966 Haastrup started singing soul music, in his words, "to copy James Brown and Otis Redding." He became extremely popular, recording his first record and winning various competitions to become "Best Soul Singer" in Nigeria. In 1969, while on his way to a competition to determine who was "Soul Brother Number One" in West Africa, Haastrup met Ginger Baker—an encounter that would change his life.

Baker was then one of the most famous rock drummers in

been a major influence on David Byrne of Talking Heads) introduced Baker to traditional drummers and exposed him to a wide range of African rhythms in Nigeria and Ghana.

Haastrup's nine months with Baker, during which Joni helped Air Force fuse African rhythms into rock, gave him the opportunity to play with outstanding musicians such as Steve Winwood and Graham Bond. The experience convinced Haastrup "to not go back to copying soul music or rock music like I used to do. It made me more confident in deciding to be original."

During the '70s, Haastrup, who now lives in the Bay Area, returned several times to Nigeria to record albums, one of which, *Dawn of Awareness* (1975), was released in the U.S. on Capitol

contributed to, in Joni's words, his "enlightenment."

"It's an ambition on my part to try to explain to people what I have discovered in terms of the relationship of music all over the world to Africa," he says. Haastrup has formed a band so he can go on stage "and actually project this evolution, the way it started from one man and his drum—the drum being the first musical instrument that the African used both in communication and celebration." When the children of Africa were forcibly taken to different parts of the world, Haastrup continues, "going with them were these rhythms and songs in their minds. Some of them have forgotten, through the pressures of their experience, what the actual things were. But one way or another, they've been able to retain traces of it."

In their songs, Haastrup and

Haastrup, a Nigerian prince, grew up listening to Sam Cooke.

musicians express their own thoughts. Flowing out of Jamaican Keith Jones' bass are riffs based on reggae, calypso and funk, while in guitarist Marvin Boxley and keyboardist Muziki, one can hear the influence of such musicians as Carlos Santana and Herbie Hancock. Similarly, sax player Bazuki and trumpeter Marty Payne are obviously well-grounded in jazz and rock.

For Haastrup, these talents and influences not only help establish his main musical point, but also "make it easier for the listener to digest. If you hear the guitarist and he plays something that sounds like what you understand—like Jeff Beck or Carlos Santana—[you might say] he plays really good. In that way, while you are doing that, subconsciously you are also digesting the polyrhythmic effects that we are sending across to you under that thing he's doing."

Judging from the extremely enthusiastic response Haastrup & the Afrikans have received at Bay Area clubs during the past few months, their musical message appears to be taking hold. In fact, Joni finds the awareness of Bay Area fans nothing short of amazing. Haastrup has nearly finished work on a new album, recorded at Different Fur Studio on San Fran-



"When one drum talks, the other responds," says Joni Haastrup.

He traces the flow of polyrhythms along routes of the slave trade.

the world, having recently starred with Cream and Blind Faith. Visiting Nigeria for the first time in order to study African rhythms, Baker was brought by a local journalist to a nightclub to hear some local bands. Haastrup was in attendance and was called up on stage by the performing band to sing two songs, the Beatles' "Hey Jude" and Sly Stone's "Sing A Simple Song." On the spot, Baker asked Haastrup to join his new group, Air Force. Joni and two friends (including Fela Ransome-Kuti, a popular singer who has recently

Records. He also performed on LPs by Taj Mahal and Hugh Masekela. Over the years, Joni affirmed his belief that much of the music and culture of the world evolved from Africa; in terms of tradition and cultural awareness, Haastrup even saw many similarities between Africa and Japan, China and India. In this period, he also developed what he calls his "political awareness."

"From the first time I stepped out of the palace and saw the world outside," he says, "I was able to see that being inside the palace was some kind of fantasy that I didn't need to be enslaved to. I was exposed to the fact that some people have been oppressed in different areas of the world, and some other people have been the oppressors. People should be able to live just as human beings and not live as somebody's subject." The Soweto uprising in South Africa in 1977, Idi Amin's rule in Uganda and the civil war in Eritrea all

his band begin with the initial role of the drum as communicator: "When one drum talks, the other drum responds." Thus, African rhythms and polyrhythms take on human functions—question and answer, call and response.

"On top of that question and answer between two drums," he explains, "there's other drums that also have something to say. But they wouldn't be saying it at the same time with you or me; they have to say it at their own different time. So if you have four drums, you would have criss-cross rhythms: one would be the caller, one would be the responder, and the other two would be the interceptors."

Once the drummers—Haastrup, C.K. Ladzekpo and Moddy (on congas and African traditional drums) and Ahuma (on Western or "trap" drums)—establish their churning rhythmic bottom, which itself is adaptable to a multitude of styles even within a single song, the other

cisco's Berry Street. Once the album is released, he intends to pursue a dream he has had for a long time—to make a world tour with his band that would include Africa, Europe, Japan and North America.

Such a tour would not only demonstrate the interconnections of much of the world's music, but would have a broader goal as well. "I see this band," Haastrup explains, "as an educational medium for the whole world—including Africans in Africa. Music is our only common language. In this music we can locate one another; we can identify one another. In that way, we can show that we are all existing in the same one conceptual world, except that politics makes it all look different. This is the real purpose of this band."

Bruce Dancis' music criticism has appeared, among other places, in *Billboard*, the *San Francisco Bay Guardian* and *In These Times*.

Wajda

Continued from page 24

documentary *Workers '80*—the moment-by-moment strike negotiations at the bargaining table filmed by Polish film students in concert with Solidarity—actually works against the film. Andrzej Gwiazda and Walesa demand of the vice-premier why people have been arrested without charges.

The interchange is more electrifying and revealing of the relationship the movie develops than any single confrontation between the fictional characters. When Walesa appears, with his energy and dedication, he wipes other characters off the screen. The street footage—both genuine and reconstructed—from 1968 and 1970 has more fascination than the blow-up between father and son over the protests.

Wajda may have let the excitement of events overtake him. The film was produced in record time. It has said since its release that he would like to re-edit it for aesthetic reasons, but no one will let him because "Everyone sees himself in the film, and feels that any cut is taking out something cathartic that must be said." One veteran of a protest movement said that the film is "like a touched-up wedding portrait—the way we imagine ourselves at the moment of our wedding."

What is wrong with the movie, in part, is what is wrong with photos like that. It's a little too pat, a little too righteous. The heroic worker's son reincarnates his father's saintly innocence, his almost apolitical purity. He rejects intellectuality along with elitism, refusing a college education because "I'll have more to lose" if he gets his degree. He converts to his cause the young filmmaker, showing her a higher vocation than her art.

That's a surprising position for a filmmaker who traditionally has focused on the importance of producers of images, art and information. This is the latest of Wajda's films making a journalist the protagonist. Both *Man of Marble* and *Without Anesthesia* concerned the courage and persecution of journalists. Here, though, Wajda himself seems to be afflicted with doubt about the role of media producers in social movements.

Wajda's driven filmmaker of *Man of Marble* has "mellowed," she tells Winkiel. (Actually, you feel a little relieved to hear this, after enduring her nearly pathological intensity portrayed so relentlessly in the earlier film.) She assures him that she learned, through working as an organizer, that there are more important things than filmmaking. She has been freed of her ambition.

Wajda was recently quoted in the *New York Times Magazine* as sharing that opinion. He criticized himself for not having signed a petition protesting the writing of the Communist Party into a central position in the 1976 Constitution (he was afraid *Man of Marble* would not get finished if the government took action against signers.) "I should have signed," he said, "and I can never forgive myself. I have learned a lot since August 1980...the same lesson as the young filmmaker from *Man of Marble*—that maybe making films isn't the most important thing in the world."

But it has been something close to that for Wajda for more



Tomczyk's friends restrain him during his rebellious student days.

than 30 years of an internationally-celebrated career as filmmaker, leader in the Polish filmmaking establishment and teacher of filmmaking, although he has always also dedicated himself to freedom of expression. His realization that filmmaking may not be the most important thing in life comments on the profundity of the shock to established values that the Solidarity process has had.

Nonetheless this realization gets uncomfortably close, in *Man of Marble*, to anti-intellectualism—unless the intellectuals can marry into the working class. Wajda destroys Agnieszka's film career in order to save her.

Perhaps this device seems more crude here than it does there, however. In a bureaucratic society careerism is what narrow profit-mongering is to a capitalist one. In a *Cineaste* interview last year Wajda pointed out that in the absence of the chance to "become a celebrity" that the West offers, advancing one's career means "invariably to stoop to rotten deals and swinish behavior."

Wajda has other problems in telling this story. How to chronicle the victory, especially when you are a member of the intellectual elite, without sounding sanctimonious or aggrandizing someone else's struggle? This is a historical moment when the position of the protagonist in *Man of Marble*—the eager truth-seeker outside official reality—is no longer necessary.

Wajda's solution—putting the doubting Thomas in the center—obscures the problem, but doesn't solve it. It makes of Winkiel a blurry window on other people's dramas; his personality becomes more indistinct the more we learn through him. And all around the confused, tired alcoholic is a psychologically oversimple world: heroic dissenters, evil officials. The good guys win—so far.

The sharpest criticism of the intellectual elite seems traditionally to come, in Poland, from filmmakers. Some of the courageous young filmmakers whose work has come to Western attention since August 1980 (in *Mother Jones* and *Cineaste*, Daniel Bickley called it the "cinema of moral dissent," noting that filmmakers function as a kind of public conscience that seems unimaginable here) were trained by Wajda. Films like *Man of Marble* and those of Krzysztof Zanussi expressed and mobilized public dissent before Solidarity.

As far back as 1929 a group of Polish filmmakers asserted that "film must be socially useful." They established the Polish film school in 1947. When Gomulka came to power in 1956 their dream of a "director's cinema" (rather than a cinema controlled by producers for profit or by government for propaganda) moved closer to reality with the setting up of three-year-long training groups centered around veteran directors. The veterans ran interference with the government and maintained artistic autonomy from each other. These units have accounted for a variety of styles and have been a continuous source of new filmmakers.

Since Solidarity, Polish filmmakers have played a crucial role in the democratizing process. The importance of cameras at

the strike negotiations—as a public, broadcast witness to the government's behavior—is clear from the interchanges that the filmmakers capture in *Workers '80*.

Documentaries have been the most exciting new development in Polish film, from reactions at the two latest Gdansk film festivals. *Workers '80* was rushed at the last minute to the 1980 festival, where, with a handful of other documentaries, it became the talk of the festival. This year a series of documentaries was scheduled, including *100 Days*, chronicling the construction of the Gdansk monument to the workers who died in the 1970 strikes and with conflict-filled footage from the Solidarity convention. Also shown this year was *Peasants '81*, also done by Polish film school students with Solidarity. *Peasants '81* follows the formation of Rural Solidarity from the beginning meetings to the signing of a government agreement with the farmers.

Although both *Workers '80* and *Peasants '81* were made through the Documentary Film Group of the Polish film school, the Group has refused to acknowledge either. But Solidarity bought both films and has used them widely. (*Workers '80* is in international distribution as well.) The documentaries tend to look rough, but they don't need polish—the drama is

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all there in the action. That kind of success, of course, only makes more important the question of the emerging relationship between intellectuals and workers. So much so, in fact, that Gdansk film festival participants this year joked about the documentary they want to see next year: *Intelligentsia '82*.

The possibilities for filmmakers in Poland today are breathtakingly open. This is a country where you can use the resources of a state-funded film unit to produce and distribute a film sharply critical of the state. Wajda's film openly indicts the government for sabotage, dirty tricks, smear campaigns, police raids and murder of unarmed protesters—not even to discuss his ever-present references to bureaucratic privilege and favoritism.

Auditing the government.

Wajda has had equal success in boldly raising administrative issues. At the 1980 festival he and others last year accused the government of sleight of hand in counting ticket receipts. This year the charges were harsher and proposals more dramatic.

Members of the Association of Polish Filmmakers and the Solidarity filmmakers union formed a "Committee to Save the National Cinematography" to demand basic reforms, and government officials serving on the Gdansk Film Festival Committee calmly heard their complaints.

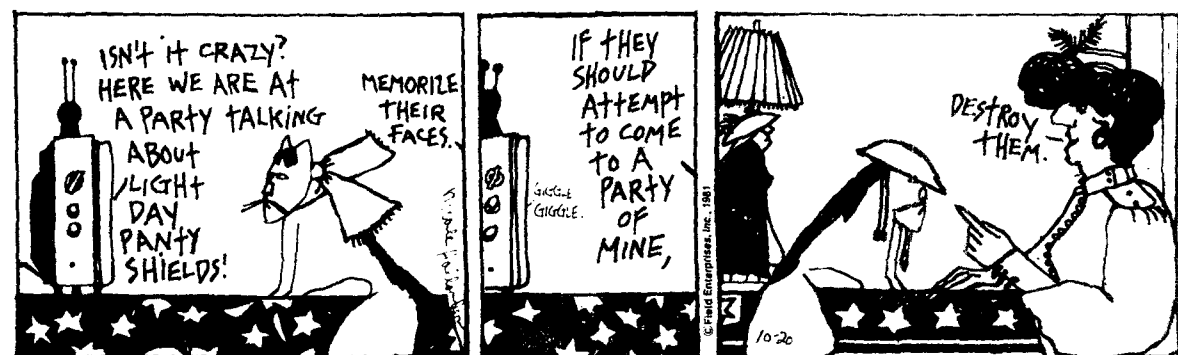
As president of the association, Wajda charged that the government could and might stop Polish film in its tracks by not releasing to filmmakers the funds generated by Polish film profits. Filmmakers, he said, also lack raw materials, especially stock. Finally, Film Polski, the film distribution unit, runs a short-term profit organization, with no concern for getting quality films to an international public.

The Association with Solidarity hunted this year for coproduction and codistribution arrangements with foreigners, which would force Film Polski to compete with outsiders for control over Polish films. Wajda further demanded that profits from *Man of Iron* be re-invested in film production. Most basically, filmmakers demanded that film production be self-governing and self-financing. According to a *Variety* report, that demand was generally seen as pie-in-the-sky, but Wajda was happy with the vision of filmmakers having even 50 percent access to the funds generated from profits of their films.

The Poles are now in the unique position of having a well-developed film industry and trained filmmakers at a time of social transformation. *Man of Iron* is only one of the many possibilities at this hectic moment. With all its uneasy positions, it's as much a promise of change as it is a retrospective of victory.

SYLVIA

by Nicole Hollander



Decline

Continued from page 16

fect be as dramatic in the prospering Sunbelt as in the slumping North, because many Sunbelt cities lack an industrial infrastructure capable of accommodating an onrush of private investment. Houston, for instance, doesn't have a mass transit system, and Dallas' sewage system is already inadequate.

Reagan's other means of holding down inflation and disciplining labor is by restraining money supply growth. But this policy also has disastrous longterm consequences. Higher interest rates discourage domestic investment making consumer loans and small business loans more difficult to procure. They also raise the value of the U.S. dollar and therefore reduce the competitiveness of American exports. At the same time, the overvalued dollar encourages multinationals, who are not dependent on external financing, to invest their funds overseas.

Reagan's foreign policy is similarly self-defeating. The international consequences of his domestic economic policies—higher interest rates and therefore increased debt payments in the third world, recession in Western Europe, and the higher dollar-denominated oil prices—have already alienated American allies. His confrontational posture toward the Soviet Union increases the distance between the U.S. and its NATO allies, who view themselves as trapped uncomfortably between the superpowers; his support of unpopular anti-Communist dictators in the less developed nations increases the gulf between the U.S. and the European strategies toward the third world.

Reagan's policies enmesh the U.S. in the vicious circle from which Carter's "doves" tried to extricate it. Economic decline leads to international decline, which leads to increased arms expenditures, which leads to further decline and to increased political divisions within the Western camp.

In short, Reagan's economic, military and diplomatic initiatives will worsen the American situation. Viewed from an analysis of what caused the decline of the U.S. in the first place, Reagan's solutions appear to be repetitions of past errors. Their widespread acceptance testifies to some deep-seated irrationality within the American public and its corporate elite.

The logic of decline.

A look at the way two past leaders of world capitalism—the Dutch and the British—dealt with their decline reveals striking similarities to the American case. (The Dutch parallel was suggested by former *In These Times* managing editor Robert Shaeffer.) These similarities help explain the seeming irrationality of American policies and politics.

The Dutch reign over world capitalism was brief: from about 1650 to 1700. Dutch superiority had its basis in manufacturing—particularly, its textile and shipbuilding industries—and the dominant role in world trade that Dutch ships and finance played. According to British historian Charles Wilson, the main reason for the Dutch decline was the high taxes citizens paid to finance the Dutch army and navy, which in those tempestuous times were responsible for defending not only Dutch territory, but also its extended trade routes. The higher taxes, exacted upon a population half the size of England's and a fourth the size of France's, were translated into higher wages for Dutch workers. One historian estimates that Dutch wages were 16 percent higher than English wages. Higher wages and inflated prices squeezed the profits of Dutch manufacturers, who were increasingly undersold by the British and French. As Dutch manufacturing stagnated, the Dutch turned increasingly to trade and finance for revenue, thus becoming dependent on a still larger army and navy, which required still higher taxes, greater national debt and the virtual strangulation of Dutch industry.

The British case fills in the picture. British world supremacy, usually dated from Napoleon's defeat in 1815, was

based both in superior manufacturing—of textiles, iron and steel, coal and railroads—and in world finance and trade. But Britain's industry began to lag behind the U.S. and Germany at the end of the 19th century. The reason was that British businessmen believed—correctly—that it was more profitable to invest their profits overseas than to modernize their domestic industry. Britain's annual investments abroad began to exceed those at home around 1870, according to Eric Hobsbawm. As a result, Britain was becoming "a parasitic rather than a competitive economy," living off the remains of her empire.

The rise and fall of the U.S. after World War II parallels the Dutch and British experience. Like the Dutch, the U.S. undertook large defense expenditures as leader of world capitalism. These expenditures contributed to the decline of its industry. While one may argue about their size at any moment, they were unavoidably larger than those of its principal rivals. And these defense expenditures now are one of the U.S.'s few claims to leadership over world capitalism.

American industry also followed, although not as dramatically, British industry's practice of using its profits overseas rather than at home. Economist Arthur MacEwan estimates that corporate profits from overseas investment grew from 12.2 percent of total corporate profits in 1960 to 23 percent in 1979. American corporations that invested overseas now naturally support policies to preserve and enhance their investments abroad—for instance, monetary policies that increase the value of the dollar.

These examples show a logic of decline that affected the Dutch and the British and is now affecting the U.S. The present American policies—as ultimately self-defeating as they are—follow from a certain historical necessity.

Imperial nostalgia.

There is also a special component to imperial decline that can be seen in Britain as well as in the U.S.—a nostalgia for past ways and past solutions. In the '20s, Britain was still widely regarded as the world's leading capitalist country. In 1925, the British Conservative Party took office on a pledge to restore the British pound to its pre-World War I parity with gold.

Opposition did not come from the Labor or Liberal Parties, but only from economist John Maynard Keynes. Keynes argued that Britain's future depended on its international financial position. Now he pointed out that raising the value of the pound would price British exports out of the world market and force British manufacturers either to reduce wages in order to reduce prices or to go out of business. But the Tories, with Winston Churchill as Chancellor of the Exchequer, went ahead with the revaluation.

The British revaluation led, as Keynes predicted, to attempts to depress wages and to the general strike of 1926. It also helped cause the world depression of the '30s. In 1931, the British finally went off the gold standard.

The interesting thing about the British decision is that while it would benefit only the financial sector, it was supported by labor and manufacturers as well. One can guess that they were motivated by political nostalgia that identified the conditions of Britain's past glory—the superiority of its pound—with the imperatives of its recovery.

A similar process is at work in the U.S. Reagan's economic policies—his promise to "get government off the backs of the people"—recalls pre-New Deal laissez-faire conditions, while his pledge to restore American military superiority is an attempt to recreate the world of the '50s. These policies will benefit only a tiny number of Americans, but they have been embraced by small businessmen, many workers, and even some unemployed.

During the summer 1980, the AFL-CIO took a poll among its members that revealed widespread support for laissez-faire and Cold War notions. The poll found that 65 percent of union members favored a balanced budget, 66 percent

thought there had been too much government regulation of business, 72 percent opposed any reduction in military spending, and 60 percent opposed the Panama Canal treaties.

The missing left.

One reason for this widespread support is political nostalgia, but there are two other reasons why particular groups of Americans support Ronald Reagan's politics. American workers' acceptance of laissez-faire is largely the result of the absence of an anti-capitalist left in the U.S. This has allowed what historian Louis Hartz called "Lockean liberalism" to persist into the 20th century among people who in Europe would have turned to socialism or social democracy.

Even after the New Deal, most Americans continued to view the economy in Lockean terms as a "state of nature" upon which the government intrudes, often for worse. When economic ills arise, they are more likely to blame the government than business. To the extent that Americans support certain kinds of state intervention—from social security to wage-price controls and rational health insurance—they do so piecemeal.

There is also another factor that makes some Americans look right rather than left. There is one important difference between Britain in the 19th century and the U.S. today. While Britain had to face capitalist rivals, the U.S. not only has to face other capitalist nations, but also a growing socialist bloc.

The social systems of the "socialist" nations have little in common with Marx's ideal, which envisaged socialism as the culmination of democracy and political liberty. But these countries represent an embryonic threat to national and international forms of capitalist organization. With the rise to power of socialist governments in democratic Western Europe, the threat becomes even greater.

The threat of world socialism is partly responsible for the blind conservatism of many American leaders. Even such rudimentary state capitalist measures as wage-price controls or public works are seen as steps toward socialism and are resisted as such. Investment consultant Alan Greenspan, the chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors during the Ford administration and a key Reagan advisor, expressed this during the

1980 campaign.

Referring to government investment programs designed to provide employment, Greenspan wrote, "Such policies can easily become self-justifying. It can be argued that private investment is weak and therefore centrally planned government investment is needed to fill the gap. But as central planning spreads, private investment incentives atrophy still more, justifying the initial premise that more central planning is needed. At the end of this path is a regimented economy."

Greenspan's warnings are characteristic of the way many businessmen and policymakers view the world. Many had misgivings about the particulars of Reagan's proposals—especially the tax cuts—but they came to see the issue as the defense of the free market and fell quickly in line.

There are alternatives being offered to Reagan and the Republicans. Wall Street Democrats like Felix Rohatyn and Henry Kaufmann have called for rudimentary government planning. Left trade unionists in the United Auto Workers, the Machinists, and the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees advocate reductions in defense spending, along with government planning. But these voices remain marginal to the mainstream, which is dominated, if not by Reaganism, then by the broader free-market/Cold-War tendencies that it represents.

In Britain, of course, the Conservatives' folly in 1925 led to the first installation of a Labour government. But the rest of the story is less encouraging. The Labour government, lacking a real alternative, soon discredited itself, and Britain went through a depression and World War II under Conservative leadership. And in 1981, Britain is still governed by a politics rooted in its imperial past.

There are therefore reasons to fear that even if Reagan fails to last more than four years, Reaganism, in some form, will be around a while longer, and the U.S. will continue blindly on a downward trajectory.

This article is based on a paper delivered July 31, 1981, to a symposium on "The USA today" sponsored by the Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales in Mexico City. It will appear in an anthology published by Siglo Veintiuno Editores.

CALENDAR

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is \$20.00 for two insertions and \$10.00 for each additional insert, for copy of 40 words or less (additional words are 35¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of Bill Rehm.

ST. PAUL, MN

November 6

Fundraiser for *In These Times*' Fifth Anniversary. Our Guest is James Weinstein, the Editor and Publisher. Join us for refreshments and informal discussion. \$5. 7-10 p.m. at Twin Cities Friends Meeting House, 295 Summit Ave. For more information call Becca Brackett, (612) 588-9532.

MINNEAPOLIS, MN

November 7-8

Farmer-Labor Association State Convention, "Economic Democracy: Defining Our Vision"—Speakers: Paul Wellstone, author of "Powerline," Michael Cassidy, Leader, New Democratic Party Ontario, Sara Evans, author "Personal Politics," Harry Boyte, author "Backyard Revolution," James Weinstein, editor *In These Times*. At Willey Hall, U.M.N., Mpls. Campus, Registration \$10. Contact: FLA 3200 Chicago Ave., S., Minneapolis, MN 55407, (612) 823-7081.

November 9-13

The Citizen Heritage Center will sponsor "Reclaiming Our Culture and History," an intensive five-day session on use of cultural and historical resources in effective citizen action. Registration is limited to 25, on a first-come basis. Contact: Citizen Heritage Center, 2001 University Ave., S.E., Minneapolis, MN 55414. (612) 623-1800.

NEW YORK, NY

November 8

Support the Polish workers! Join labor, anti-

war and social activists in an afternoon in solidarity with Solidarity. Tadeusz Kowalik, a Polish economist serving on the National Commission of Solidarity, will be a special guest speaker. Other speakers include: Pete Camarata, Barbara Garson, Michael Harrington, C.L.R. James, Joanne Landy, Diane Lacey, Conrad Linn, Sam Meyers, Grace Paley, I.F. Stone and Paul Sweezy. Reception and entertainment. Washington Irving High School, 40 Irving Pl., New York, N.Y. From 2-6 p.m. \$2.50 contribution. For more information or advance tickets write: S.S.C., 99 State St., Brooklyn, NY 11201. Make checks payable to Solidarity Support Campaign.

ANN ARBOR, MI

November 13-14

"Alternatives to Reaganomics." A conference sponsored by Ann Arbor DSOC, featuring John Conyers, Lee Webb, Randy Barber, Karen Nussbaum, Zoltan Ferency. \$5 registration, \$2 for low income. DSOC, c/o Adams, P.O. Box 7373, Ann Arbor, MI 48107, or call (313) 662-6597.

WASHINGTON, DC

November 15-16

Women's Pentagon Action, Sunday—a women's gathering in Washington. Monday—a demonstration including non-violent civil disobedience at the Pentagon. Contact: WPA, 3601 Locust Street, Philadelphia, PA 19104. (215) 386-4876.

MILWAUKEE, WI

December 4-6

Mobilization for Survival's National Conference will take place Dec. 4, 5 and 6 in Milwaukee, Wisc. Join Holly Near, Holly Sklar, Mel King and other activists in building a movement for disarmament, an end to nuclear power and human needs. Call (212) 533-0008 or (414) 272-0961.

King

Continued from page 19

Garrow, to his credit, notes the extent of these episodes but declines to exploit them. Calling them "uninhibited" is about as detailed and graphic as his descriptions get. Yet taken together they outline, for the first time with authenticity, the seamier side of Dr. King's career, a side that had a destructive impact on the cause to which he was dedicated.

Garrow documents some of the ways in which it was destructive, particularly how the FBI's reports and tapes, distributed within the government and especially to the White House, diluted the Kennedy and Johnson administrations' support for both King and the civil rights movement in the crucial early '60s. He also suggests that the reck of King's behavior within the move-

ment, even without the FBI's exertions, contributed much to the ill-concealed antagonisms among civil rights leaders, especially between King and the NAACP's Roy Wilkins.

Harm done.

But there is more to it than Garrow draws out. The necessity of concealing King's "lively episodes" from the many church people with whom he was allied, strongly reinforced the elitist tendencies in his charismatic leadership style. It also sowed deep hostility toward King among the militants of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. Further, King's habits and examples were imitated by many in his circle. The resulting miasma of sexual predation had much to do with undermining the morale and cohesiveness of the civil rights movement's key cadre of activists. Other writers (including myself in *Selma 1965*) have shown how by the end of the Selma campaign this cadre was fragmented. And following

King's murder in 1968, all these pestilential chickens came home to roost with a vengeance in the spectacular collapse of the Poor Peoples Campaign, which finished off King's organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, as a significant player on the national scene barely four months after King was buried.

At this level the story of King's career begins to approximate classic tragedy. When fully and sensitively told it will be the stuff of powerful and moving narrative. But Garrow has no such self-conscious literary ambitions here. His focus is a hard-headed look at the Bureau and its rulers, whose tawdry record in King's case hardly qualifies even as low-grade melodrama. He ends the book with a brief and penetrating critique of the recent efforts to "reform" the agency and to prevent the recurrence of such vile episodes. These efforts, he argues, don't have much chance of long-term success unless the Bureau's isolation and the hom-

ogeneity of its employees are overcome. These objectives, in turn, require that the Bureau's internal procedures, and particularly its personnel practices, be exposed to continued scrutiny by informed outsiders. It is just

IN THESE TIMES NOV. 4-10, 1981 23 such access, limited as it now is, which we are in the process of losing.

Chuck Fager is a Washington, D.C., journalist who writes for several national alternative weeklies.

CULTURE SHOCK



WAR GAMES

Because of the growing importance of video displays in new military hardware the Army is training soldiers with commercial video games.

BEST OF THE WORST

The National Asso-

ciation of Crime Victims' Rights is looking for candidates for America's Most Outstanding Surviving Crime Victim Family. (Thanks to reader John Kyper)

THE SILVER LINING

After the attempted presidential assas-

sination stock in security businesses, already doing well, soared. These days you can take a 10-hour defensive driving course against kidnapping for \$500, get a bomb "sniffer" for packages for \$2,500 and a bulletproof Cadillac for \$125,000.

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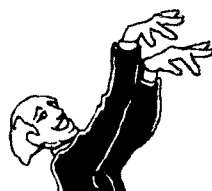
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MAN OF IRON—THE NEW film by Poland's leading filmmaker, Andrzej Wajda, its subject Poland's recent history—has finally arrived in the U.S. (It will open in Chicago, which has the highest Polish population in the country.) Having debuted and garnered the top prize at Cannes, the film could cause as much debate as its predecessor, *Man of Marble*, but for different reasons.

Man of Marble, when it broke long official silence on protests of Stalinism in Poland in 1977, galvanized popular sentiment against the strictures of the Polish regime. It had weathered more than a decades' worth of rewrites, some of them adapting to changing social issues and some simply to avoid censorship. Wajda had chosen, finally, to truncate the film rather than end it with a reference to the Gdansk shipyard strike of 1970. Even as it was finally shown, the film resulted in both the minister and the vice-minister of culture losing their jobs.

But when *Man of Iron*, made in consultation with strikers and union organizers, was completed within months of the events it focused on, the first person on the government's prescreening board to comment said, "Anyone who speaks against this film speaks against Polish culture and democratic renewal." Lech Walesa, on the other hand, is reported to be nervous at the film's bold pitting of dissidents against the Polish government.

This is a sequel of sorts. *Man of Marble* told the story of a young filmmaker, Agnieszka (Krystyna Janda), who uncovered the truth about an exemplary Stalinist-era worker who later disappeared. He had, it turned out, continued to protest against undemocratic government. She finds his son, who seems on his way to showing her what happened to his father when the film school blocks her film. She and the son Tomczyk (Jerzy Radziwiłowicz) leave as determined as ever to voice the issues the worker's disappearance raised.

In *Man of Iron*, they fall in love, marry and take leading roles in the Gdansk shipyard strike of 1980. Through flashbacks to Tomczyk's relationship with his father, the once-forbidden history of protest 1968-1980 is recounted, and the father's vision transmitted to the next generation.

The unlikely protagonist of this history is a schlemiel. Winkiel (Marian Opania), a clever but weak-willed TV broadcast journalist, is a doubting Thomas. Once he was a tough investigative reporter and even gave Agnieszka the tip that led her to Tomczyk. But he has spent time in jail and become a drunken, defeated member of the corrupt government media.

During the 1980 strike Winkiel tears himself away from a rehearsal of women pretending to be anti-strike moms and wives on a talk show to get his orders from the top: an undercover assignment to collect dirt on strike leader Tomczyk for a smear campaign. Even though he will have to go into a Solidarity-declared dry zone, Winkiel is anxious for the responsibility. But once he gets to the shipyards, his cynicism wars with the hope all around him, and his cowardice contrasts badly with the suffering and faith of the people he is supposed to spy on.

His investigations are the device that lets Wajda summarize recent history. Winkiel runs into an old acquaintance, a radio journalist and old friend of Tomczyk. He recalls their days as student protesters in 1968, when Tomczyk's father refused to rally workers to support what he termed dangerous power politics in which everyone would get hurt. In 1970, when workers went on strike, students refused

The best part of Andrzej Wajda's *Man of Iron* is the history.

By Pat Aufderheide

SO LI DA RI TY THE MOVIE

to support them, and Tomczyk was roused from a sulk to hunt for his father's body after police fired on workers. Tomczyk then gave up on school and went to organize in the shipyards; his union leader opposed his organizing during the 1976 strike.

Winkiel then visits the mother of a young woman organizer. She describes their hunt for Tomczyk's father's body, the attempts to bury him, the disappearance of his grave and her steadfast conviction that in the end the protesters will win—that the government will eventually have to negotiate in good faith with Solidarity.

Finally he meets the one-time filmmaker Agnieszka, who recalls her romance and marriage with Tomczyk and the romance of their organizing work, even through hardships brought on by raids, ransacked apartments and a lonely pregnancy for her while he was jailed.

When Agnieszka talks to him about her work, recalling her "horrible ambition" to be a career filmmaker and her present fulfillment in being able to "speak the truth without worrying about the consequences," he suddenly realizes that he is trapped. He can no longer spy, and he can't quit. The thoroughly rotten police officer (he labels himself a "shit-swallow") who has him under surveillance lets him know that.

Winkiel finally opts for Solidarity—just too late to make any difference, and just in time for his new colleagues to denounce him for a spy. He is the only despondent member of a mad parade of joy once the government signs the agreement with Solidarity. Even this is misunderstood. His boss pulls up to him in a luxury car. "Why so glum?" he asks. "Don't worry, a contract signed under duress isn't valid."

As for the good guys, Tomczyk makes peace with his father, visiting the site of his father's murder with a copy of the new agreement; and he and Agnieszka are reunited.

The film, with its schematic history of protest, clearly shows how risky those August 1980 negotiations were and how pervasive was the discontent on which their success was founded. It also delineates the social groups involved.

Each of the characters plays an exemplary role within this struggle. In fact, *Man of Iron*, part fiction and part documentary, is less a dramatic film than an allegory. The truthful intellectual joins with the militant worker; their union in the Church is given strength by the democratic grassroots struggle. (Lech Walesa plays a bit part as a witness at their Church wedding, admonishing them self-consciously to practice democracy in the home.) The corrupt intellectual loses all by cowering to state intimidation.

It doesn't quite work; history has outstripped art. The reality is so dramatic, so cathartic that we don't need allegory to understand the message Wajda sends. Whenever he uses documentary footage or inserts real characters like Walesa, that fact is clear. One scene he uses from the

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